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THE

HISTORY

OF

PETER THE CRUEL,

KING OF CASTILE AND LEON.

BY

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PROSPER MÉRIMÉE.

WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE HISTORY

OF

PETER THE CRUEL.

CHAPTER I.

CONTINUATION OF THE WAR AGAINST ARAGON—MURDER OF SEVERAL RICOS HOMBRES.
1359—1361.

I.

It is difficult to explain why the Castilian army, which was still assembled upon the Aragonese frontier, should have remained inactive, not even making any show of seconding the operations of the fleet. The Castilians did not open their campaign until the beginning of autumn, and then only to repel an invasion. The Conde de Trastamara and Don Tello, with about 800 men-at-arms, having entered Castile by way of Agreda, were met by Don Fernando de Castro and Juan de Hinestrosa at the head of an army twice their number. A battle took place in the valley of Araviana,* at the foot of the mountains of Toranzo and

* This same plain of Araviana was in 986 the scene of a tragedy, renowned alike in history and romance—the betrayal and slaughter of the Infantes of Lara.—*T.*

Tablado. Notwithstanding their numerical superiority, Don Pedro's lieutenants were defeated at the first charge. It was not so much a battle as a total rout, the slain on either side were few, but the king lost some of his most faithful servants, and amongst them Hinestrosa, whose devotion had never failed, and whose counsels had often been useful to him.*

As it did not suit Castilian pride to admit that the Aragonese, who were greatly inferior in number, could have fairly gained the victory, several chiefs were suspected of treason, and it is probable that there was some foundation for the charge. The greater part of the knights and hidalgos who accompanied Hinestrosa, had ill performed their duty, and had shamefully abandoned him in the midst of the mêlée. Moreover, at the moment of the enemy's approach, Hinestrosa had sent orders to Diego Perez Sarmiento and Don Alonso de Benavides to join him with all their men-at-arms. Although their camp was near Araviana, they obeyed so slowly, that the conflict was over when they appeared upon the battle-field. On arriving with fresh troops, instead of making an effective charge upon the wearied enemy, they entrenched themselves upon a neighbouring height, not even attempting to rally the fugitives.

* Ayala, p. 290. "Don Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, a commander of the Order of Santiago, who was a great favourite of the king, and had been by him destined to succeed Don Fadrique in the Mastership of Santiago, and Don Gonzalo Sanchez de Ulloa, Alferez-Mayor to Fernando de Castro, both perished in this battle. De Castro owed his escape to the swiftness of his horse. His and Hinestrosa's associate in command, Iñigo Lopez de Orozco were amongst the prisoners."—Ayala, p. 291.—*T.*

They were consequently accused of having been seduced from their duty, there being no grounds for believing that the Conde, usually so prudent, would have ventured in the midst of several large bodies of men, if he had not had a secret understanding with their chiefs. Others, with perhaps more reason, attributed the conduct of the lieutenants of Hinestrosa to their jealousy of the man whom the king had delighted to honour. The event soon confirmed Don Pedro's suspicions. Two Ricos Hombres, who had been present in the engagement, Pero Nuñez de Guzman, Adelantado of the kingdom of Leon, and Pero Alvarez Osorio, abruptly quitted the army with all their vassals, giving out that they intended to procure reinforcements from their estates. The king was now firmly convinced that they had sold their general to the Conde de Trastamara, and that they were advancing into the heart of his kingdom only to organise a fresh rebellion. He vented his anger in threats against the lieutenants of Hinestrosa, who were too well aware of the direful consequences of the king's displeasure not to seek to escape them by an immediate flight. Benavides went into concealment; Sarmiento, after a little hesitation, crossed the frontier and offered his services to Don Enrique.* Perhaps they were only guilty of having doubted the justice of their master.†

Don Pedro could never hear of the defection of one

* "As also did Fernandez de Velasco, Commander-in-Chief in Murcia, on hearing that the king intended to arrest him."—Ayala, p. 294.—T.

† Ayala, p. 291.

of his Ricos Hombres without imagining that the whole of his nobility were conspiring against him. His fury then conjured up enemies everywhere; he struck at random; now at a traitor, now at a faithful vassal. Not to be feared, seemed to him the greatest of reproaches; a few heads must fall in self-justification. The two youngest children of Doña Leonor de Guzman, who for many years had been kept prisoners in the castle of Carmona, were still in his power. One, named Don Juan, whom we have already seen at Toro, was nineteen years of age; the other, Don Pedro, hardly fourteen. But the king remembered that at nineteen Don Enrique was at the head of a formidable party, and he immediately decided upon the destruction of these unhappy princes. A ballestero of the guard, the usual bearer of secret orders, entered their prison and slew them both. "All those who loved the king's service," says Ayala, "heard with sorrow of this sanguinary execution, for what had these young princes done to deserve death? When had they failed in their duty to their brother?—in their allegiance to their sovereign?"*

This detestable cruelty was as serviceable to the Conde de Trastamara as the fortune of war. He had already numerous partisans throughout Castile, and the majority of the nobles looked upon him as the champion of their liberties and independence. The king had likewise many enemies amongst the clergy, whose privileges he seemed to take every opportunity of reducing. Ever regardless of the ordinances of the church, he

* Ayala, p. 292.

treated the pretensions of the Holy See, which were admitted without question by all other European states, as encroachments upon his own authority.* That very justice which he desired to administer so rigorously amongst all his subjects, without distinction of rank or creed, was imputed to him as a crime by those who believed themselves not amenable to the laws—that is to say, by those who possessed a fief, a prebendary, or vassals. The number of these privileged persons was large in Castile .He treated the Jews with humanity, and several of them filled high offices at court. Probably he had granted this unhappy people some few franchises which they did not enjoy under his predecessors, for it has already been remarked that in all civil commotions the Jews invariably declared for Don Pedro. This was quite enough to occasion the most absurd reports concerning his impiety. Let him but give a courteous reception to some learned Arab, or treat with affability a Jew merchant whose industry enriched the state, and it was whispered, now that he was a Mohammedan, now that he was a Jew, planning the overthrow of Christianity in his kingdom. And, indeed, he had been heard to say more than once, that

* The Pope having by a bull taxed a tenth of the property belonging to the military orders, Don Pedro, by a rescript dated from Olmedo, the 5th of July, Era 1397, (1359), forbade its observance. We may remark in his words the caution peculiar to his character: "And because this thing is new, and was unknown in times past, and, if permitted, would destroy the said orders, the work of the kings, my ancestors, ay and my work too, whence great injury would accrue to me, &c." *Bulario de Calatrava*, p. 500.

the Moors and Hebrews were his only loyal subjects. These rumours were principally propagated by the ecclesiastics; and although at this period they could not dethrone kings at their pleasure, they were at least dangerous enemies; they powerfully assisted the Conde de Trastamara in his traitorous schemes, and spread throughout Castile the leaven of mutiny and disaffection.

Don Pedro's irreligion was now incessantly contrasted with the piety, real or feigned, of Don Enrique. No one was really acquainted with the projects of this young prince, and assuredly, however towering his ambition might be, he was as yet far from aspiring to the conquest of a crown; he was, however, universally well spoken of, and everywhere placed in comparison with Don Pedro. From commanding a Free Company in the service of a foreign monarch, he had in a short time become the chief stay and hope of a body of malcontents who agreed in regarding him as their liberator. Every fresh crime of his brother raised him a degree higher in the public estimation, and if he could not yet clearly discern the future, at least he was already conscious of a lofty mission, and wanted neither the courage, boldness, nor prudence to answer the call. Since the battle of Araviana, the hopes of his partisans had risen wonderfully. Urged by the emigrants under his command, and by the malcontents with whom he maintained an active though secret correspondence, Enrique now meditated the invasion of Castile, and solicited the King of Aragon to provide an army, assuring him that his (*i. e.* Enrique's) presence would suffice to excite a general revolt. "A single battle will," he said, "ter-

minate a war so disastrous to your states." Pedro IV., more dispassionate, and perhaps better informed as to the real position of affairs, did not share his confidence, which he designated temerity. Besides, at his own court, the rapid success of the Conde de Trastamara had excited much jealousy. The Infante Don Fernando, who always considered himself heir presumptive to the Castilian crown, viewed with displeasure the growing ambition of a man whom the accident of birth placed in a rank so far beneath his own. Could he, the nephew of King Alfonso, suffer a bastard to dispute with him the first place? He also had his secret partisans in Castile: in his own opinion, he was the man destined to deliver that country from Don Pedro, and he requested of his brother the command of that army which was intended to conquer a kingdom. On his side, Don Enrique declared that he would not cross the frontier unless intrusted with the chief command. Neither prayers, intrigues, nor threats, did he spare in his attempt to force from his rival the prey which he imagined already within his grasp. The King of Aragon did not long hesitate between the claims of the brother whom he hated, and those of the adventurer whose services had already been so useful to him. However strong the enmity he bore to Don Pedro, he would never have sought that prince's ruin had it served to raise Don Fernando to a throne. In his eyes the Infante was still an enemy, a rebel, and he had never forgotten his alliance with the insurgents of the League. To give him a kingdom, was to arm against himself a rival more dangerous, perhaps, than Don Pedro. On the other hand, he saw in the Conde de

Trastamara a mere soldier of fortune; one who might be made subservient to his own designs, and whose less towering ambition could always be easily satisfied. It was, therefore, to Don Enrique that he gave the command of the expedition against Castile. He not only appointed him his procurador, but invested him with full powers to treat with the Ricos Hombres and the Commons, pledging his royal word to make neither peace nor truce with Don Pedro, without obtaining favourable terms for the nobles who should rally round his banner.* Whilst Don Enrique was collecting his troops in Lower Aragon, Pedro IV. detained Don Fernando upon the Murcian frontier, and quieted him by holding out hopes of another expedition of greater importance and more worthy of the Infante of Aragon.

II.

Whilst these preparations were making, and the frontier was still the scene of perpetual skirmishes, the legate, Guy de Boulogne, pursued his mission of peace with indefatigable perseverance; trusting that the defeat of Araviana had had a salutary effect upon Don Pedro's mind, he redoubled his exertions, and succeeded in persuading the Castilian sovereign to nominate the plenipotentiaries who should treat in his name with the King of Aragon. Pedro IV. likewise invested envoys with similar power; nevertheless he still furnished the Conde de Trastamara with money and soldiers. It

* Arch. gen. de Ar. Instructions and powers given to the Conde de Trastamara, Tarazona, 1st of March, 1360. Reg. 1170, p. 29. *Vide* Appendix B.

is, however, only fair to observe that no stipulation had been made for a discontinuance of hostilities during the period of the negociations, which were about to open under the auspices of the Cardinal-legate.

These conferences, which commenced in the year 1360, took place at Tudela in Navarre. There, Gutier Fernandez de Toledo, plenipotentiary on the part of Castile, soon perceived that the envoy of the King of Aragon only sought to gain time, whilst Don Enrique was completing his preparations, and sending his emissaries far and wide to tempt the fidelity of the Ricos Hombres and the king's governors. Fernandez had unavoidably frequent opportunities of intercourse with several emigrants, with whom he had formerly been on terms of friendship; their hopes and designs did not escape his notice; indeed they made no mystery of them. He learned all that was expected from the invasion of Don Enrique, the promises of his secret adherents, and their success in seducing many of the confidential advisers of the crown. Surprised to find that Don Enrique alone was always at the head of these conspiracies, he obtained an interview with some hidalgos, devoted to the cause of the Infante of Aragon, and by their means entered into negociations with that prince. The object of these negociations is unknown. If Ayala may be credited, he merely made Don Fernando certain promises, and an offer of pardon, on condition that he would quit the service of the King of Aragon, and re-enter that of Castile. He endeavoured to excite the Infante's jealousy, and to persuade him that the King of Aragon was sacrificing

him to an intriguing adventurer. According to this account, Fernandez must have employed against Don Pedro's enemies the very same arms which had been so effectively used against the Castilian king, and his object was to weaken their strength by dividing their interests. We can, however, scarcely believe that he entered into these dark intrigues without some guilty designs of his own, for we are otherwise at a loss to understand why he should have concealed from his master the overtures which he was making in his name. However that might be, negociations could not be carried on with sufficient secrecy to prevent their soon coming to the knowledge of Don Pedro. He at first concealed his acquaintance with them, and continued to treat Fernandez with confidence, patiently waiting an opportunity to punish him. Moreover, the projected invasion of the Conde de Trastamara required all his attention. He hastily quitted Seville, giving out that he intended proceeding to Burgos; but according to his usual custom before defending his frontiers from his declared enemies, he had determined to rid himself of his secret foes.

For some time he had watched all the movements of Pero Nuñez de Guzman, and Alvarez Osorio, the two Ricos Hombres who had deserted his colours immediately after the battle of Araviana. Instead of taking the direct road to Burgos, the king, marching with that astnoishing rapidity which had so often contributed to his success, suddenly appeared in the kingdom of Leon, and in the domains of Pero Nuñez, before that noble was aware of his approach. Nuñez, warned at the last moment by a faithful esquire, had

only just time to mount his horse, and riding at full speed, to gain his Castle of Aviados. He arrived there, pursued even to the very edge of the moat by the king, whom not even a journey of twenty-four leagues among barren mountains could tire. Having neither the means nor the leisure necessary for a siege, the king abandoned his purpose for a time, and for the present thought only of securing his accomplice, Alvarez Osorio. He had now recourse to stratagem, for he was aware that the culprit was on his guard. His first care was to re-assure him, and to lead him to imagine that he was completely satisfied with the excuses with which Osorio had accounted for his apparent defection. He feigned to be his dupe, and promised to appoint him Adelantado of Leon in the place of Pero Nuñez, whom he had cashiered.

Such was the fickleness and cupidity of these Ricos Hombres, that Osorio did not hesitate to accept of spoils torn from his accomplice; he kissed the king's hand, and accompanied him into Castile. Don Pedro was now so perfect a master of his countenance, that he could deceive even his most intimate friends. No one doubted but that Osorio was restored to favour, and the whole court began to treat him as one of themselves. Diego de Padilla, notwithstanding his intimacy with the king, was no better informed as to the royal intentions, and he seems to have owed his happy ignorance to the opinion his frank and loyal character had inspired. He invited the new Adelantado to dinner during a halt made by the royal troops a few leagues from Valladolid, whither they were bound. In the midst of the repast there arrived two ballesteros,

Juan Diente and Garci Diaz, the usual ministers of the king's revenge; they enter, and in the presence of Padilla, who is seized with fear and horror, they assassinate Osorio, and cut off his head.* This murder was quickly followed by other executions no less sanguinary. During his rapid march, Don Pedro arrested all those whom he had convicted or suspected of holding intelligence with the Conde de Trastamara. He kept them for some time in his train, and then had them beheaded. Among his victims, may be remarked an ecclesiastic, the Archdeacon Diego de Maldonado, who was accused of having received a letter from Don Enrique.†

These severe measures did not render the nobility more faithful. Whilst the king was thus engaged in the work of decapitation in Castile, Gonzalo Gonzalez Lucio, Governor of Tarazona, delivered up that city to the King of Aragon. This cavallero, a lieutenant of Hinestrosa, had for the last two years been negociating secretly with Pedro IV., and bartering his fidelity. A pretext had hitherto been wanting to excuse his treason; now, however, he had the sanction of the legate, who had always protested against the occupation of Tarazona, which had, as we have seen, been besieged during a truce. A present of 40,000 florins, and the hand of a rich Aragonese heiress, completely dispelled his last remaining scruples.‡

* Ayala, p. 298.

† Idem, p. 299.

‡ Ayala, p. 299, Zurita, t. II, p. 298, Carbonell, p. 188, relate that the surrender of Tarazona took place at the commencement of the year 1360. A letter from the King of Aragon to Diego

Don Pedro had not yet arrived at Burgos, when he learned that the Conde de Trastamara, and his two brothers, Don Tello and Don Sancho, had entered Castile with 1500 lancers, and about 200 foot soldiers, the greater part emigrants or vassals of the Conde de Osuna, an Aragonese Rico Hombre, son of Bernal de Cabrera, the minister. Coasting along the Navarrese frontier, this little army marched up the right bank of the Ebro, and advanced as far as Pancorbo. As well as we can judge at this distance of time, the Conde's design was to excite the north of Castile to revolt, to rally the partisans of Don Tello in the Basque provinces, and to enter the kingdom of Leon, and assist Pero Nuñez de Guzman. His soldiers, ill disciplined and irregularly paid, gave way on their march to the most revolting excesses. At Najera they massacred all the Jews, in which work of destruction they were assisted by the Christian in-

Perez Sarmiento, dated the 28th of February, 1360, announces the taking of that place, into which he had just entered. "Arch. gen. de Arag." Reg. 1170 Secretorum, p. 26. But so far back as the 5th of December, 1357, he assured to Gonzalez Lucio, *vassal of the King of Castile*, and to Suer Garcia Suarez, of Toledo, *Esquire*, 40,000 florins payable at Tudela, in Navarre, on condition that Tarazona should be delivered up to him, to defray the great expenses they have incurred and continue to incur daily in his service: "por raho de gran costa que havedes fecho e fazedes de cada dia en nuestro servizio." "Arch. gen. de Arag.," register 1293, Secretorum, p. 57. At the same period the king promises to Suer Suarez 10,000 florins, probably as his share of the 40,000, the price of the surrender of Tarazona, (same register, p. 58). It seems that the King of Aragon, hard pressed for money, did not pay Lucio till 1360.

habitants, whom the Conde encouraged to this butchery in order, by compromising them, to attach them to his cause.* Some Ricos Hombres opened their castle-gates to him, others joined him with their men-at-arms; but the mass of the population received with repugnance an army which brought fire and pillage in its train. He met, however, no serious obstacle on his march. Don Pedro had arrived at Burgos, but was sick, and could not yet take the command of the troops whom he had assembled around that city, and his lieutenants, when out of his sight, were never eager to engage.

Misfortune had not reconciled the sons of Doña Leonor. We have already seen Don Enrique and Don Tello deceive and betray each other. Sometimes, when threatened by a common danger, they acted in concert, but they were always ready to violate their oaths of alliance when these did not accord with their private interests. Don Tello was jealous of his elder brother, and had never any other object but to obtain for himself an independent suzerainty similar to that which he had formerly possessed in Biscay; even at this period, he was seeking a reconciliation with Don Pedro, and by the intervention of one of his friends, was treating for the price of his submission, when Don Enrique was informed of the negociation. Too weak to punish him, Enrique dared not even reproach his brother with his treachery; but he hastened to send him back to Pedro IV. under pretext of demanding reinforcements. Don Tello set out for Aragon,

* Ayala, p. 301.

accompanied by some of the devoted adherents of Don Enrique, who had specially charged them to watch narrowly his brother's conduct.*

III.

As soon as Don Pedro was able to sit on horseback, he took the field with his whole army, consisting of 5000 lancers and 10,000 foot soldiers. Don Enrique, who doubtless believed him still an invalid, and was ignorant of the number of his troops, had weakened his own forces by despatching his brother, Don Sancho, with a party of soldiers against the town of Haro; but on the enemy's approach, he hastily quitted Pancorbo, and fell back upon Najera, retracing the route he had followed. He then made some show of offering resistance, and entrenched himself outside the city, in order probably to await the approach of his brother, Don Sancho, who was in danger of being cut off. Don Pedro advanced slowly, taking a terrible revenge on the several towns and castles which had sheltered the rebels. At Miranda, where the populace, incited by the exiles, had massacred and pillaged the Jews, he caused the chiefs of the insurrection to be arrested, and in his very presence these miserable wretches were either burnt alive, or boiled to death in enormous cauldrons. These horrible cruelties were legalized by the ancient customs of the kingdom, but had not been put into practice for many years. The awful character of such punishments excited rather com-

* Ayala, p. 302.

passion for the sufferers, than detestation of their crimes.*

Whilst on the march towards Najera, deliberating whether he should engage or not, a priest from San Domingo de la Calzada, presented himself, and asked to speak with him in private. "Sire," said he, "San Domingo has appeared to me in a dream, and has commanded me to warn you, that if you do not amend your ways, Don Enrique, your brother, will slay you with his own hand."† This strange revelation, which afterwards

* Ayala, p. 303, Abreviada. Compare note 4 of Señor de Llaguno. It may be asked how Don Pedro, during an expedition, could find vessels large enough wherein to boil human beings? Throughout Castile, enormous jars are used for the purpose of keeping wine, oil, or wheat, and sometimes water. Not only one man, but several could be placed in one of these jars. Their form is quite antique. We know that Diogenes' tub was an earthen vessel.

It had been long customary in Spain to roast or boil persons for political offences. Gonzalo de Ayora mentions that such punishments were in common use in the time of the too famous Doña Urraca, Don Pedro's ancestress. San Fernando himself boiled men in cauldrons, and Sancho el Bravo, when Infante of Castile, and in open rebellion against his father, Alfonso el Sabio, menaced with a like fate Fernan Nuñez, one of his own adherents, who had, without his authority, advanced against the royal banners. *See* note to Señor de Llaguno's edition of Ayala, p. 304.—*T.*

† According to popular tradition, this prediction was addressed to the King by the ghost of a prince whom he had slain with his own hand. The spectre added, affecting obscurity, as is the wont of the race of spirits, "*Thou shalt be a stone at Madrid.*" Of a truth, the statue of Don Pedro, placed over his tomb by his grand-daughter, Abbess of the Convent of San Domingo, may still be seen at Madrid. The tradition I have just related, has been

might have passed for a prophecy, was probably only the reverie of a disordered brain. The fanatical hatred, with which the open irreligion of the king inspired so many priests, had perhaps over-excited this visionary, and it is not surprising that on the eve of a battle, when the two brothers were about to meet sword in hand, he should predict a violent death to him whom the church had condemned. The king at first was troubled by the air of inspiration and decision exhibited by the priest; soon, however, he imagined that he was an emissary from the enemy, entrusted to spread discouragement amongst his soldiers. He endeavoured to force a confession from the monk. But it was in vain that he was urged to name those who had sent him. To every question, the priest replied, without hesitation, that he held his commission from St.

followed by Moreto, in his curious comedy of "The Rico Hombre de Alcala."

The author of this comedy was a contemporary of Calderon, and was fortunate enough to be an especial favourite with his sovereign, Felipe IV., who, if not, as he fondly imagined he was, a wit himself, was assuredly the promoter of it in others. Augustin Moreto has been of essential service to several French dramatists of reputation, who have borrowed freely from his plays. The "Don Japhet of Armenia" of Scarron, is almost a literal copy of his "Marques del Cigarral," though, according to Schlegel, a spoiled copy, Scarron no more improving the old Spanish play, than did Rowe "The Fatal Dowry," or Farquhar "The Wild-goose Chase." Molière, too, has twice drawn upon this writer, namely, in the unfinished play of "La Princesse d'Elide," and in the "Ecole des Maris," where he has availed himself of Moreto's, "ho puede sen." Like his great rival, Calderon, Moreto afterwards forsook the stage, and took holy orders.—*T.*

Dominic alone. Don Pedro, irritated by his obstinacy, ordered him to be burnt alive in his camp.*

Although naturally superstitious, as were all the men of his time, Don Pedro feared the malice of his enemies more than the anger of the Saint, and he continued his march, firmly resolved to fight. On Friday, at the close of April 1360, he discovered the army of the Conde posted in battle array upon a hill in front of Najera, about three thousand men strong, a third of whom were cavalry. On the summit of the eminence occupied by the rebels might be distinguished the tent of the Conde, his banner waving by the side of that of Don Tello, whose vassals had remained with his brother. Without awaiting the arrival of the rest of the army, the vanguard of the king charged impetuously, and at the first shock gained the heights, carrying away the two flags. The Conde's troops fled in the greatest disorder towards Najera, and the majority of the men-at-arms, abandoning their horses, leaped into the moat, for in a moment the bridge was clogged up by fugitives. Don Enrique himself could only enter the city by means of a hole in the wall which was enlarged to admit him. Night prevented Don Pedro from pursuing his success, and exterminating the remainder of the rebels. Satisfied with his day's work, he sounded a retreat, and regained his camp, a few miles from Najera. The next morning, as he was setting out at the head of his army to recommence the attack, he met some of his genetours returning from a skirmish outside the town. The first man he saw was one of the esquires of his palace; he

* Ayala, p. 305.

had his face bathed in tears and sobbed aloud; his uncle had just been slain by his side. Still suffering from his recent sickness, and excited by the sinister prediction of the priest, who persevered in calling upon Saint Dominic even in the midst of the flames, the king fancied his meeting with this heart-broken man to be an evil omen. His firmness suddenly abandoned him. In vain did his cavalleros represent to him the desperate condition of the enemy, who must be totally unable to hold out many hours in a badly fortified and unprovisioned town. One last effort might place his brother in his hands, and for ever rid him of the most formidable of his adversaries. But Don Pedro was no longer the same man. He obstinately refused to press his advantage. Instead of attacking, or at least investing Najera, he abruptly returned to San Domingo, probably with the design of appeasing the anger of the Saint by some act of expiation. Meanwhile Don Enrique and the Conde de Osuna, attributing their escape to divine protection, hastened to evacuate Najera, and retreat into Navarre, followed by Don Sancho, who had succeeded in rejoining them. Their retreat was effected with difficulty. The men-at-arms were for the most part unhorsed; all had lost their baggage, and the great number of their wounded materially embarrassed them in their march.

We may readily believe that, if they had been vigorously pursued, not one could have reached the frontier. But Don Pedro remained inactive, and seemed to have forgotten every thing, even his resentment. For one moment he appeared to shake off his lethargy, and pursued the retreating army as far as Logroño. There,

the Cardinal Guy de Boulogne hastened to meet him, and with one word arrested his progress. The army, which was in admirable condition and full of military ardour, received orders to halt, and not to harass the enemy's retreat further.* As soon as the Castilian territory was evacuated by the rebels, the king, who seemed still labouring under a delusion, hastily quitted the theatre of war, and returned to Seville. He left the greater number of his troops upon the frontier, under the command of the three masters of the military orders, and of Gutier Fernandez who, when the invasion of the Conde Don Enrique had interrupted the conferences at Tudela, had been appointed to command a detachment of troops stationed at Molina.

The defeat of Don Enrique had not entirely deprived him of the favour of the King of Aragon, but it taught that prince how necessary it was for his own interests to put an end to the rivalry existing between his lieutenants. A few days after the battle of Najera, having contrived a meeting between the Infante and the Conde de Trastamara, he obliged them to swear mutual peace and amity, and, in accordance with the custom of the age, this reconciliation was confirmed by a religious ceremony. Don Fernando and Don Enrique laid their hands on the Holy Gospels, swearing to abjure their enmities, and to consider only the honour and advantage of the King of Aragon. They engaged, by the same treaty, to reveal all overtures made to them by the King of Castile, and for the future to work that prince "all possible injury

* Ayala, p. 307.

and dishonour willingly and loyally."* I transcribe the very words of this singular contract. The King of Aragon in return renewed to them his assurances of protection, and promised never to treat with his enemy without making such stipulations in their favour as they might require.

The sincerity of Pedro IV. was soon put to the test. The very day after this convention, Bernal de Cabrera returned from a mission to the King of Castile, bringing the ultimatum of that prince. One difficulty alone, according to the Aragonese envoy, prevented the ratification of a lasting peace; it was the revocation demanded by Pedro IV. of the sentence of high treason pronounced by Don Pedro against the Infante Don Fernando, and Enrique de Trastamara. This, the King of Castile refused, and was so firmly convinced of the justice of his conduct, that he offered to place the matter in Cabrera's hands, proposing that the Aragonese minister should name six arbiters from among the prelates and Ricos Hombres of Castile, and re-consider with them the sentence pronounced at Almazan. Perhaps in making this overture, Don Pedro counted a little on the open enmity which existed between the minister and the Castilian princes; or, as was afterwards asserted, he had by some powerful inducements brought over Cabrera to his views.

The affair was laid before the secret counsel of Pedro IV., but the debates were quickly interrupted by the

* Juran da ayudar a fazer todo mal e danyo, desfacimiento e desonra al Rey de Castiella bien e lealment. Pedrola, 11th of May, 1360. Arch. gen. de Arag. Pergamino, No. 2230.

king, who suddenly remembered his oath not to treat with the King of Castile without obtaining honourable terms for his allies, the exiled princes. Cabrera, who had always been the advocate for peace, of course submitted to his master's decision, but he demanded that his proposal should be recorded, and that due notice should be taken of his attempts to effect a reconciliation.*.

The scrupulous fidelity exhibited by Pedro IV. on this occasion is somewhat novel in him, but it is sufficiently explained by the hope he was at that moment cherishing of effecting a fresh alliance. He was in fact then in treaty with the Granadine Moors, and had succeeded in inducing them to make a powerful diversion in his favour. He trusted that he should soon give the King of Castile so much occupation in Andalucia as should force him to abandon the Aragonese frontier. The result will show that his expectations were well founded.

Fortune seemed just now to smile upon Don Pedro, and his arms were as successful upon sea as on land. Shortly after his arrival at Seville, an adventurer named Zorzo,† captain of the ballesteros of his guard, and who had been sent by him to cruize along the coasts of Bar-

* Arch. gen. de Arag. reg. 1170, Sigilli secreti, p. 165. Attestation delivered to Don Bernal de Cabrera ad suam execusationem et in testimonium veritatis, 12th of May, 1360, without any indication of place, probably at Pedrola; we have seen that the treaty of reconciliation between the Infante and Don Enrique, is dated from that town, the 11th of May, 1360.

† Ayala, p. 310, says that this man was born in Tartary, and had been a Genoese slave. *Zorzo*, according to Señor de Llaguno, is the modern Greek for George. This is an error. The name belongs to the Genoese dialect. If Ayala had intended it to represent the Greek pronunciation, he would have written Yorios.

bary, brought into port four Aragonese gallies, which after a brilliant engagement he had succeeded in capturing. The king, ever since the insult offered to his flag by Perellos, had looked upon all Aragonese sailors as pirates, and treated them accordingly. The captain of the four gallies, a Valencian hidalgo, and camerlingo to the King of Aragon was put to death,* and with him some of his crew.†

IV.

Alfonso, King of Portugal, Don Pedro's grandfather, had died the preceding year, leaving the crown to his son Pedro I. The alliance between the two kingdoms now became more intimate. Connected with Don Pedro both by relationship and political ties, the new sovereign of Portugal possessed a conformity of character

* "Here again," writes Mr. Dillon, "impartiality obliges us to mention, that we must not attribute what belongs to the ferocity of the times, to the peculiar cruelty of Don Pedro. Such depredatory expeditions were considered universally as piracy by all the Mediterranean States, and the captives put immediately to death; being either hung up at the yard-arm, or at the entrance of their sea-ports. Even in the following age, Pietro Doria of Genoa, and others, without the imputation of cruelty, frequently treated the Spaniards in this manner." Dillon's "Peter the Cruel," vol. i. p. 171.

† These cruelties provoked reprisals. The King of Aragon wrote from Barcelona the 12th of Sept. 1360, to the Conde de Trastamara, demanding of him Enrique Lopez de Orozco, a Castilian knight, his prisoner. By a letter of the same date, he ordered Jordan de Urries to have Orozco beheaded as soon as the Conde should deliver him up. I have not been able to ascertain whether this cruel order was executed. Arch. gen. de Arag. regis. 1170. *Sigilli secreti*, p. 182.

and plans, which united them still more. Like his nephew, he had been insulted and betrayed by his Ricos Hombres, and like him he had conceived the design of humbling them as soon as he had the power. Haughty, imperious, implacable in his resentment, fierce in his revenge, he received the same cognomen that his namesake of Castile had earned. With the nobility whom he decimated, he was Pedro the Cruel, with the people whose oppressors he often punished, Pedro the Justiciar.

"As though he had feared an inadequate supply of executioners," says a Portuguese chronicler, "he provided himself with one wherever he journeyed, making the headsman part of his retinue. The king was often seen to flog the guilty or the accused with his own hands, and even to place them on the rack. He carried a whip in his girdle that he might be always prepared, and not obliged to seek for one."* Such was the new Sovereign of Portugal. Who is unacquainted with the tragical history of Inez de Castro, his beloved mistress? Certain nobles, jealous of the influence which the passionate attachment of Pedro, then Infante of Portugal, gave to the relations of Inez, obtained her death-warrant from King Alfonso, and became themselves her executioners.† Although the Infante had solemnly sworn to

* Na cinta trazia sempre o açoute por nâo haver dilaçâo em o buscar. Duarte do Liao, "Chronicas dos Reis de Portugal," t. II. p. 199.

† Contra una dama, o peitos carniceiros,
Fevos vos mostraïs, è cavalleiros?
Lusiad, Cant. III. st. 130.

Out villains! butchers! what, employ your spights,
Your swords against a *lady*, and called *knights*.
Sir R. Fanshaw's trans. p. 72.

renounce all thought of vengeance, the murderers of Inez hastened to seek a refuge in Castile on his accession to the throne. But this asylum was ill-chosen. The King of Portugal, on renewing with his nephew the alliance between the two States, wrote secretly to him demanding the surrender of the assassins of his mistress, and offering him in exchange, some Castilian refugees who were living quietly at his court. At this period of feudal anarchy, the delivering up of proscribed persons was considered as tyrannical as it was novel. The noblity, who claimed the right of expatriation whenever it accorded with their interest, viewed with indignation such an infringement of their ancient privileges. On the other hand, kings, especially absolute kings like Don Pedro, desired nothing better than to destroy these privileges altogether. The cruel exchange proposed by the Portuguese, was readily accepted by his ally, and the unhappy beings who had confidently trusted in the right of asylum were delivered up to the most frightful punishments. One of the first claimed by the King of Castile was Pero Nuñez de Guzman, formerly Adelantado of Leon, who had effected his escape shortly before the expedition of the Conde de Trastamara. He was put to death at Seville after having endured under the eyes of the despot whom he had offended, such horrible tortures as roused the indignation of the most faithful of Don Pedro's subjects. Pedro of Portugal felt grateful to his ally, and to repay him for the blood which he also had had the gratification of shedding, placed at his brother monarch's disposal six hundred lances for the next campaign against Aragon.*

* Ayala, p. 310. After having caused Pero Coelho, one of the assassins of Inez, to be tortured for a long time in his presence,

V.

The Battle of Najera, the total rout of Don Enrique, and, above all, the untiring perseverance of the cardinal-legate, had in some measure caused a suspension of

the King of Portugal commanded that Coelho's heart should be torn out. "Search to the left of my bosom," said Coelho to the executioner, "you will find a heart larger than the heart of a bullock, and more faithful than the heart of a horse." *Collecção de ineditos de Historia portugueza*, t. v. p. 126. Coelho in Portuguese signifies a rabbit. This name furnished the king with a horrible pleasantry, which paints the manners of the age. On beholding the prisoner he cried out: "Bring hither some vinegar and onions, they are going to fricassee this *rabbit* for me."

Diego Lopez Pacheco, another of the executioners of Inez de Castro, was more fortunate than his accomplices. At the time the order was issued for his arrest, he was absent on a hunting party, and to prevent Pacheco from being informed of the fate reserved for him, the gates were ordered to be closed, and all egress forbidden. The city guard, however, allowed a poor beggar to leave the city. This beggar had often received alms from Pacheco, and now testified his gratitude. He sought and found his quondam benefactor in the forest, informed him of the peril in which he stood, and exchanged clothes with him. Pacheco, thus disguised, fled into Aragon, and was received with open arms by the Conde de Trastamara, who afterwards granted him wide domains, in return for the many good services he had rendered the Trastamara cause. One of the assassins of Inez de Castro thus became the head and founder of the family of the Pachecos, not the least wealthy and noble among the great houses of Spain.

Pero Nuñez de Guzman, albeit the new King of Portugal had consented to deliver him up to Don Pedro, succeeded in escaping from so inhospitable a kingdom. He lost his life through trusting to the ancient friendship of Sancho Ruiz de Villegas, the alcayde of Alburquerque, who basely sold him to the Castilian king. The cavalleros whom Pedro of Portugal actually placed in

hostilities between the two belligerent powers. The cardinal had obtained a promise from Don Pedro to resume the conferences at Tudela, and although negociations had been twice broken off, he spared no endeavours to renew them. Don Pedro was less disposed than ever to abate his pretensions; nevertheless, he feigned some deference for the Holy See, and named Gutier Fernandez as his plenipotentiary. Let no one be astonished that the king, aware as he then was of the secret correspondence of his minister with the Infante of Aragon, should again confide to him so important a mission. He had designs of his own. Slow in maturing his plans of vengeance, he did not withdraw his favour from his victims until he could strike the final blow. Besides, Fernandez was at Molina, on the Aragonese frontier, and surrounded by his immediate vassals, might easily have set his anger at defiance; it was, therefore, necessary, first of all, to entice him from his fortress. The king wrote to him, commanding him to repair to Sadava, in order to confer with the Cardinal de Boulogne, and recommended him, on his way, to take counsel of the Masters of the military orders, who would give him valuable information concerning the negociations he was about to direct.

Gutier Fernandez, suspecting nothing, set out for Alfaro, the place appointed for the meeting with the Masters. Already had he been preceded there by Martin Lopez, the successor of Juan de Hinestrosa

the hands of his namesake and brother sovereign, were Men Rodriguez Tenorio, Fernand Gudiel de Toledo, and Fortun Sanchez Calderon, all of whom were put to death at Seville. Ayala, p. 311, and following.—*T.*

in the office of chamberlain, who, under promise of secrecy, came to acquaint Don Garci Alvarez, the Master of Santiago,* with the king's pleasure. On arriving at Alfaro, Fernandez found the troops under arms. He was told that the Masters of Santiago and Alcantara, who had just arrived from a neighbouring cantonment, were about to review their cavalleros, and he was requested to take part in the military exercises which were usual on such occasions. When the review was concluded, the two Masters conducted him with due honour to his lodging, accompanied by a large number of their knights and men-at-arms. Then, the doors being closed, and guarded by soldiers, Martin Lopez signified to him that he must prepare to die. "What have I done," cried Fernandez, "to merit death?"† All were silent. The king had communicated his suspicions to no one, and he never deigned to explain his orders. Martin Lopez next summoned the prisoner to deliver up all his castles: he consented to this without hesitation. Then he inquired whether he would be permitted to write to his lord. This favour was accorded him, and a notary having been sent for, he dictated the following letter:—

"Sire, I, Gutier Fernandez de Toledo, salute you, and take leave of you, being about to appear before another Lord, mightier than you are. Sire, your highness is not ignorant that my mother, my brothers, and myself, have, since the hour of your birth, been members of your household; and I need not call to

* Garci Alvarez de Toledo had been nominated by the king, Master of Santiago after the defeat of Hinestrosa at Araviana.—*T.*

† Yo nunca fice cosa porque meruese muerte.

your recollection the insults we endured, or the dangers we incurred in your service, at the time when Doña Leonor de Guzman had sole power in this kingdom. Sire, I have ever served you loyally;* I believe that it is because I have spoken too freely of things important to your interests, that you now condemn me to death. Let your pleasure be accomplished, and may God pardon you, for I have not deserved my fate. And now, Sire, I tell you in this solemn moment, and it will be my last word of counsel, that if you do not replace your sword in the scabbard, and cease to strike off heads like mine, you will lose your kingdom and peril your life. Bethink you well, for it is a loyal subject who thus adjures you in the hour when the truth alone ought to be spoken."

After having affixed his seal to this touching letter, Fernandez bared his throat to the executioner, who beheaded him in a chamber of the house where he had been arrested. A ballestero of the guard, immediately mounting his horse, hastened to Seville to lay the head of Fernandez at the king's feet.†

Whilst Gutier Fernandez was expiating his crime, or his imprudence, at Alfaro, Don Pedro was issuing orders in Andalucia for another murder, dictated by

* Gutier Fernandez had, however, refused to accompany the king to Toro, when he placed himself in the hands of the rebels, but Diego de Padilla had also acted on the same occasion with like disloyalty. *See* § VIII. Ayala, p. 167.

† Ayala, p. 313, and following. Cascales, "Hist. de Murcia," p. 133. The same day a Leonese cavallero, Pero Fernandze Quexada by name, was arrested, and led to Almodovar del Rio, and there detained a prisoner.—*T.*

suspicions still more vague, and effected with no less art and dissimulation. Gomez Carrillo, the governor of some fortresses recently taken from the Aragonese, was accused by his enemies of maintaining a disloyal correspondence with the Conde de Trastamara. Indignant at such reports, and eager to confound his accusers, he immediately repaired to Seville, and boldly presenting himself before the king, demanded a hearing. He confessed that he had, during the suspension of arms, seen some of his relatives who had emigrated into Aragon, but he solemnly denied that in these conferences he had made or received any proposal contrary to the interests of his master. The king welcomed him, appeared to listen to him favourably, and assured him that he still possessed his sovereign's confidence. Don Pedro added, that, in order to silence calumny, and to avoid communications which might be ill interpreted, he intended to remove him from the Aragonese frontier, and to intrust to him the command of Algeziras. This was, at that time, one of the most important places in the kingdom. Carrillo, imagining the appointment to be a mark of special favour, accepted the command with gratitude, and immediately went on board one of the king's gallies, in order to take possession of his new charge; but scarcely had he entered the mouth of the Guadalquivir, than the captain of the galley had him beheaded. At the same time, his wife and sons were arrested at the other extremity of Castile by Martin Lopez.*

Ayala explains, after his fashion, Carrillo's death,

* Ayala, p. 315, and following.

which he does not impute to a political cause. According to his version, the king, in one of his frequent, although transitory fits of caprice, had transferred his attentions from Maria de Padilla to her cousin, Maria de Hinestrosa, sister-in-law to Gomez Carrillo. Garci Laso Carrillo, her husband, finding his honour in peril, crossed into Aragon, leaving to his brother the task of watching over the conduct of his wife. It was, therefore, to rid himself of an inconvenient spy, that the king had Gomez murdered. Such a proposition seems to me improbable, and I cannot understand why our chronicler has not taken more trouble to substantiate his conjecture. Gomez, when on the Aragonese frontier, was not in a position to interfere with Don Pedro's love affairs; and, moreover, he had not displayed any great anxiety for the honour of his family, since he accepted the king's favours, whilst perfectly aware of the situation his sister-in-law held in the court.

Whatever indignation or disgust we feel at the recital of these continual executions, it is impossible to attribute them to an unthinking ferocity, or to that naturally cruel temperament which the majority of historians impute to Don Pedro, when endeavouring to account for so many legalized murders following one another in such rapid succession. They appear to me rather the fatal consequences of the king's ambition, struggling with the manners of his age. The prominent feature in his character is an inordinate love of power, which rendered him ever suspicious, ever uneasy; and which is, perhaps, excusable to a certain degree

at such a period, in a prince who having, for a long time, witnessed the evils of anarchy, conceived himself qualified to effect the regeneration of his country, and in the end believed his own despotism to be a kind of superhuman mission. Constantly betrayed, and the dupe of the most solemn oaths, he grew accustomed to suspect treason in all who surrounded him, and to pronounce sentence before conviction. The consciousness of a noble design made him view as acts of justice the severities with which he punished all disobedience to his will.

In that unhappy period, this confusion of words and ideas was allowed by the people themselves, incessantly exposed as they were to the miseries of civil war, by the ambition of their feudal lords. To slay a Rico Hombre was, in the eyes of the multitude, to perform an act of justice; that is, to punish a man who, *prima facie*, deserved punishment.

Don Pedro prided himself on his equitable distribution of justice; but, like all despots, he viewed disobedience as the greatest of crimes. Whoever hesitated to obey his orders was a traitor, and his head was instantly doomed. Perhaps the conduct of Gutier Fernandez and Gomez Carrillo had always been loyal, but appearances were against them. Both had maintained intercourse with men whom their master had proscribed, and who were known to be striving to seduce his vassals from their allegiance. Nothing more was wanting to create a suspicion of treachery, and with Don Pedro, a bare suspicion was followed by a death-warrant. Accustomed, like the knights of

that epoch to the sight of blood, and, like the majority of his countrymen, to consider human life of little value, he cared not to convert his suspicions into certainties.

Kings generally imagine they possess greater penetration than other men, and Don Pedro doubtless believed himself infallible. I do not, however, hesitate to affirm, that it was not without full conviction of the justice of the sentence that he issued the death-warrant; a conviction too hastily formed no doubt, but still sincere, and based on reflection. He honestly endeavoured to distinguish the innocent from the guilty, and even this was something in a despot of the fourteenth century. It was then customary, in the punishment of a rebel, to involve his whole family; and it was common to see children following their father to the scaffold. Don Pedro was not guilty of this inhuman and blind cruelty. Nothing more forcibly displays his love of justice, using that word according to its acceptation in the middle ages, than his conduct towards the relatives of Gutier Fernandez. On receiving intelligence of that noble's death, Don Gutier Gomez, Prior of San Juan, and Diego Gomez, his cousins, both of them entrusted with the defence of the Murcian frontier, believed their lives threatened by the blow which had just struck the head of their family, and, abandoning their post, took flight. The first endeavoured to reach Granada, the other sought refuge in Valencia. The prior was arrested on the frontier, and expected nothing less than death; but the king hastened to reassure him, restored to him his honours and employments, and continued to treat him with confidence.

He likewise pardoned Diego Gomez, although that noble had sought an asylum among the king's enemies.*

The profound dissimulation with which Don Pedro concerted his acts of revenge, or if you will, of justice, appears to us of the present age, the most odious feature in his character, and renders the murders which distinguished his reign still more revolting. I believe that this dissimulation was rather a habit, and perhaps a necessity of his age, than a vice inherent to his nature. We must recollect the character of the grandees of Castile during that period, their inaccessible fortresses, and the habits of implicit obedience, in which their vassals were trained ere we can entirely comprehend how utterly powerless open force could be against them. Before the perfecting of artillery, Spain abounded in impregnable castles. A Rico Hombre, entrenched in his citadel towering almost to the clouds, with a hundred robbers at his command, and sufficient provisions for a year, might set the most numerous army at defiance; and at the head of his little band, could in the meantime spread desolation through a whole province. In order to deal with such a personage, he must be surprised whilst absent from his fortress, and separated from his men-at-arms. At this period war was in some measure the normal state of all Europe, and stratagem, or more often treachery, the only tactics in use. The majority of the knights, whom we are too much accustomed to regard such as poets and romancers have depicted, made sport of their oath of allegiance. Where shall we find in Spain at this sad period, men faithful

* Ayala, p. 319, and following.

to their alliances, true to their friends, or even, restrained by ties of blood? Every where we meet with deeds of treachery, of shameless perjury. Is it then astonishing, that a prince, educated during a civil war, from his earliest years encompassed by mutiny and conspiracies, betrayed by his brothers and cousins, and sold by his own mother and aunt, should have sought to turn against his enemies those arms, the dangerous nature of which he had himself experienced? I am not here apologizing for Don Pedro, I only wish to show how difficult it is to judge the men of other times, by our modern ideas. What to-day in our eyes appears a crime, was only esteemed a mark of boldness by our ancestors of the fourteenth century; and if we cannot affirm that human nature has improved, at least we ought to be grateful to civilization for having diminished the mass of material evil, by lessening the power of effecting it.

Shortly after the events I have just related, Don Pedro assembled the principal of his captains at Almazan, and there took the opportunity of making public the crimes laid to the charge of Gutier Fernandez and Gomez Carrillo. "The first," he said, "during his sojourn at Tudela had held treasonable intercourse with several rebels, especially with Perez Sarmiento, whose treason caused the disaster at Araviana. He had besides made such proposals to the Infante of Aragon as were contrary to the duty of a vassal, and dangerous to the state. With respect to Carrillo, he, when placed in a post of confidence upon the enemy's frontier, had persisted in seeing his relatives, who were

devoted followers of the Conde de Trastamara.* By offering this explanation to his courtiers, the king did not seek to justify his conduct; he only intended reading them a lesson; moreover, he was anxious to show that his spies were vigilant, and that nothing escaped his notice.

Don Vasco, brother of Gutier Fernandez, was archbishop of Toledo. The king believed him to be an accomplice in the conspiracy which he imagined he had discovered. He sent him a command to go into exile. Such was the terror that Don Pedro then inspired, that not a voice was raised in Toledo to protest against the banishment of a man whose irreproachable morals and sincere piety had rendered him beloved by all his flock. The king's commands were now executed with all the rigour and punctuality of Mohammedan despotism. At the conclusion of mass, it was signified to the archbishop that he must immediately set out for Portugal, and without allowing him time to collect any baggage, or even to change his dress, he was led out of the city, and thence, by forced journeys, to the frontier.† Two years afterwards, Don Vasco died in the odour of sanctity at Coimbra, in the monastery of San Domingo,

* Ayala, p. 317.

† The bearers of the king's orders were Matheos Fernandez, Don Pedro's Private Chancellor, and Pero Lopez de Ayala, the historian, who at that period was Alguazil-Mayor of Toledo. Ayala was desirous of executing his instructions as delicately as possible, but his kind intentions were thwarted by Fernandez, whom the chronicler holds responsible for the harsh treatment the Archbishop received. Ayala, p. 321.—*T.*

which he had chosen as his retreat, and the king, at the entreaty of the archbishop's relatives, allowed his body to be transported to Toledo, and interred in the cathedral.*

Four days after the departure of its archbishop, the city of Toledo witnessed another reverse of fortune. The king's treasurer, Don Simuel el Levi, formerly the companion of his captivity at Toro, and afterwards his minister and confidant, was suddenly cast into prison. On the same day his relatives and agents, dispersed throughout the kingdom, were arrested. Simuel's crime was his immense wealth, for in an age when the resources of commerce and industry were so little known, a king could not conceive that his treasurer had grown rich except at his expense. Don Pedro, after the example of the eastern despots, had for a long time given full liberty to his minister, which ended however in his afterwards exacting a strict account. All Levi's goods were seized, and unhappily for him, he was thought too cunning not to have concealed the greatest part of his treasures. He was conducted to Seville, and so cruelly tortured that he expired amid the agonies of the rack. The king is said to have found in his coffers 160,000 doubloons, and 4,000 silver marks, which with a large quantity of jewellery he appropriated to his own purposes. The sum of 300,000 doubloons, found in the possession of the treasurer's relatives, who acted under him, was likewise seized; it was the product of taxes the collecting of

* Ayala, p. 320. It is presumed that Don Vasco resigned the Archbishopric as soon as he was banished, for the same year we find him succeeded by Don Gomez Manrique. Mariana.—*T.*

which was confided to Levi, and which were about to be poured into the coffers of the king. There is reason to believe that Levi, like Jacques Cœur, an age later, fell a victim to the ignorance and cupidity of the master whom he had faithfully served.*

* Ayala, p. 322. According to the interpolator of the chronicle of the Despensero-Mayor, Simuel Levi, whose death he erroneously asserts took place in the year 1366, had been denounced to the king by several Jews, who were jealous of his immense wealth. Simuel Levi, on being put to the torture, died of *indignation*, '*de puro corage*,' according to the anonymous author, whose words I transcribe, as to me they are unintelligible. There was found in a subterraneous cavern under his house, three piles of gold and silver, so high 'that a man standing behind them was not visible.' The king, on beholding this treasure, exclaimed: 'Had Don Simuel given me but a third of the least of these three piles, I would not have had him tortured. Why would he rather die than speak!' — *Sumario de los Reyes de España*, p. 73. Credat Judæus Apella.

CHAPTER II.

PEACE WITH ARAGON.
1361.

I.

SINCE the victories of Don Alfonso, the kingdom of Granada had been tributary to Castile. One of those palace revolutions, so common in Mohammedan countries, had taken place in Granada, the king, Mohamed-Ben-Yussef, the creature of Don Alfonso, and afterwards of Don Pedro, having been driven from his throne by his brother Ismael. At the end of a few months Ismael was assassinated by his vizier, Abu Said, who immediately took the title of king.* Mohammed† who

* Ayala, p. 323. Conde, Hist. de los Arabes, part IV, c. XXIV. Marmol, Descripción de la Afri., lib. II, p. 214, and following. Marmol calls the dethroned king Abil Gualid, and the usurper, Mahamet.

† "Mohammed ben Yussef, ben Ismael ben Farag was twenty years of age when he succeeded his father. The different virtues which adorn the characters of other princes were all combined in him, humanity, probity, presence of mind and candour were imprinted on his countenance. Called to the throne in early youth, he laboured to supply the defect of experience by diligence and application. So compassionate was he, that he was frequently affected to tears by the misfortunes of those who

had always been faithful to Don Pedro, and as we have seen, had furnished him with some vessels in his

appealed to him, and so munificent and generous as to win the love of all who approached him. Luxury and flattery were banished from his alcazar, and in lieu of the idle adulation and pompous retinue, usually found in a court, he was content with a moderate number of servitors, such as became the magnificence of a king's house. His virtues caused him to be abhorred by vicious and evil-minded courtiers, but the chief nobles of his realm obeyed him cheerfully, and the people, refined by his manners, became themselves more gentle. He delighted in books and knightly exercises, such as tourneys and horse racing." Conde, Part IV. and XXIII.

"His brother, Ismael Ben-Yussef, on the other hand, was of goodly stature, and so beautiful in countenance, that he might have been taken for one of the loveliest of women; his mind corresponded to his exterior, being effeminate, weak, and wholly given up to pleasure and luxury; thus he was utterly unfitted for the exercise of sovereign power, and the grave cares of empire. As he owed the crown to the infamous intrigues of Abu Said, his relative, and other ambitious schemers, he was absolutely governed by them, Abu Said especially treating him with the utmost contempt, and as though he were a slave, without any respect for the royal dignity, which was for a time nominally his." *Vide* Conde, Part IV. cap. XXIV.

Next to Abu Said, Ismael appears to have owed his elevation principally to the intrigues of his mother, the sultana, who had taken advantage of the confusion resulting on the day that her lord, King Yussef, was assassinated, to secrete in the very palace which Mohammed's generosity assigned her as an abode, an immense store of jewels and gold, with which she intended ultimately to pave her son's way to the throne. Nor should Ismael's sister, the wife of Abu Said, be defrauded of her just share in the unenviable notoriety of this revolution it being recorded that it was through her persuasions that Abu Said, who was himself a

maritime expedition against Catalonia, would naturally seek his support and on the other side the usurper had reason to hope that the King of Aragon would espouse his cause.

Pedro IV. was too wise to decline so advantageous an alliance. The ill-success of the expedition, led by the Conde de Trastamara, had not deprived him of the hope of exciting a revolution in Castile. It was here especially that he believed Don Pedro vulnerable, and having experienced the incompetence, or insufficiency of one of his agents, he hastened to make use of another. It was to his brother Don Juan that he now proposed confiding a second expedition, trusting that he would have more success than Don Enrique in rallying the malcontents, and rekindling the flames of a civil war which so much blood had not been able to extinguish. It appears that Pedro IV. was to proclaim the deposition of Don Pedro, and to recognise Don Fernando as his successor, as soon as that prince had succeeded in gathering around him a certain number of insurgents. To conceive so bold a design he must have viewed the fidelity of the Castilians of that period with the same eyes as Don Pedro. Probably he was mistaken and the cup was not yet full. Surrounded by exiles, who were naturally ready to believe those rumours respecting their country which accorded with their own hopes, the Aragonese monarch had doubtless received an exagge-

price of the blood royal, and with some pretensions to the caliphate, employed his immense wealth and influence in Ismael's behalf. Probably he intended, from the first, to assert his own rights as soon as a favourable opportunity should occur.—*T.*

rated impression of the aversion Don Pedro inspired in Castile; however this might be, the very disquiet of the Castilian king betrayed his weakness, and showed on which side the blow should be aimed. The King of Aragon resolved to grant Don Fernando considerable subsidies, and to place him at the head of a body of troops consisting of 3000 men-at-arms. It was no longer a foray which he had to lead, the conquest of a kingdom was to be attempted, and Pedro IV. had already made sure of a large share in the spoils of his enemy. The Infante solemnly engaged to cede to his brother, *jure regio*, the kingdom of Murcia, the province of Soria, and several important towns. The king in return promised to provide his troops with six months' pay, dating from the 1st of February 1361; furthermore, in case the Infante should have a daughter, it was stipulated that she should marry the Duque de Gerona, eldest son of Pedro IV. and his presumptive heir.* Thus it will be seen that nothing was forgotten in the contracts of this period. Whilst this match remained in embryo, active but secret preparations were making for the expedition which was intended to conquer Castile. It may be conceived how important an alliance with the Moors of Granada would be at such a time, and how desirous Pedro IV. must have been to induce them to take up arms.

Until then Don Pedro, absorbed by the internal disorders in his kingdom, and the management of the

* Arch. gen. de Arag. Convention between Pedro IV. and the Infante of Aragon. Barcelona, 31st of January, 1361, register 1393. Secretorum, p. 77, and following.

war against Aragon, had bestowed little attention upon the affairs of Granada. At the beginning of the year 1361 the negociations opened between Pedro IV. and Abu Said were made known to him by a Moorish king of the Beni Merin, named Abu Salem,* who had been requested to take part in the coalition against Castile.† This information reached Don Pedro at the moment when, at the head of a powerful army, he had just entered Aragon, and gained possession of a few towns. The diversion which threatened him was very dangerous, for Andalucia was then at the mercy of the Moors; and the greater number of his cavalleros as well as the flower of his genetours were assembled at a great distance from their houses in the king's camp. The imminence of the danger forced him immediately to send back the picked men of his troops to the Granadine frontier, and thus he was obliged to abandon Aragon at the moment when every thing there seemed ready to yield to his arms. In this perplexity, Don Pedro took his measures with his usual impetuosity. Like the lion, who turns from his first assailants to fall upon the hunter who has last attacked him, Don Pedro directed the whole force of his arms against his new enemy. His hatred was now concentrated upon one object; he transferred it entirely from the King of Aragon to Abu Said, and thought no sacrifice too great that would ensure him ample revenge. Cardinal Guy de Boulogne, who never lost any opportunity of bringing forward his pacific propositions,

* Marmot, Descrip. de la Afr. calls him Abu Henun, King of Fez. Lib. II. p. 214.

† Ayala. p. 348.

immediately perceived this change, and took advantage of it. That truce which lately appeared impossible was, in the course of a few days, effected with extraordinary facility. The Aragonese monarch held out as before, for solid advantages; the Castilian only sought to gratify his vanity, and merely stipulated that the usurper of Granada should be given up to him. The Cardinal, as arbiter between the two sovereigns, whose characters he had had ample time to study, proposed that the King of Aragon should withdraw his protection from the Infante and the Conde de Trastamara, and that Don Pedro should restore all the cities he had seized. As regarded the alleged pretensions of the two princes upon Alicante and Orihuela, the cardinal deferred all discussion upon that subject, and maintained the *statu quo* until the affair should be examined into by the Pope, who was to make the final decision. On these conditions, which were accepted with eagerness by both parties, a peace was concluded, and Don Pedro immediately returned to Seville, wholly occupied with his design of proclaiming a crusade against the Moors.

Such was the basis of the treaty of peace proclaimed about the middle of May 1361.* I shall briefly mention the principal articles. It has been seen that, at the time of the preceding negociations, each of the two kings had in his pay one or more of his adversary's relations, who was at the head of a certain number of exiles or malcontents. From this singular coinci-

* Proclaimed by the King of Castile at Deza on the 13th of May, Era 1399 (1361), and at Calatayud by the King of Aragon on the 1th of the same month.

dence arose the necessity for each of the two kings to stipulate in favour of the foreigners in his service, and thus the plenipotentiaries had always proposed reciprocal concessions in that respect, as the basis of their agreement. Circumstances however were changed now that the Infante of Aragon had been reconciled to his brother, and, like the Conde de Trastamara, banished by the King of Castile. It was necessary to satisfy Don Pedro, and at the same time to soothe the pride of Pedro IV, and spare him the humiliation of appearing to sacrifice the men whom he had drawn into his quarrel. We shall see how the legate overcame, or rather eluded this difficulty. It may be remembered that since the reign of Don Alfonso of Castile, the Masters of Santiago and Calatrava claimed certain considerable domains, and the right of nomination to several commanderies situated in the kingdom of Aragon; the sovereigns of that country having appropriated to themselves the right of investiture. The cardinal proposed setting the two Masters against the two chiefs of the Castilian emigrants, viz. the Infante Don Fernando and Don Enrique. This fiction once adopted, it was easy to arrange terms upon a footing of apparently perfect equality. It was agreed that Don Fernando and the Conde de Trastamara should cross the left bank of the Ebro eight days after the proclamation of peace, and that in future they should neither possess a fortress, nor fix their residence within twenty leagues of the Castilian frontier; that they should be forbidden to recruit for soldiers in Aragon, to buy arms or provisions, or in a word, to carry on any military transactions there; that if they entered the service of any

foreign prince, who was an enemy of the King of Castile, they should not be received in Aragon during the period of the war; lastly, that the King of Aragon whilst they remained in his states should be guarantee for their good behaviour, should be answerable for all hostile enterprises which they might undertake, and in case any such attempts were made, should pay an indemnity proportioned to the injuries resulting from them.

Similar engagements and similar promises were made on the side of Castile with respect to the Grand Masters of Santiago and Calatrava. The same prohibitions* were applied to them, and Don Pedro was equally pledged to be security for their conduct. Moreover, the two kings agreed with one accord, that they would abstain from all attempts at usurpation, or acts of hostility against the estates of these four persons, who could scarcely be regarded as included in the treaty; at the same time, however, Don Pedro declared that he would not recognise the claims of Don Enrique and Don Fernando to any other demesnes than those which they possessed in Aragon, and Pedro IV. made the same reservations with regard to the Masters of Santiago and Calatrava. One particular article recommended that the question concerning the right of

* It was manifestly impossible to execute the article which prohibited the Masters from possessing fortresses within thirty leagues of the Aragonese frontier, unless that article referred to castles belonging to the Masters personally, and not to those appertaining to their orders. Thus, for instance, Segura de la Sierra, a Castilian commandery upon the Valencian frontier, could not be taken away from the order of Santiago.

nomination to the Aragonese commanderies, should be reserved for the final decision of the Holy Father. I do not find a parallel clause affecting the domains of Don Fernando and the Conde de Trastamara in Castile; the legate, however, had determined in his own mind some arrangement on this point, but knowing Don Pedro's irritability on the subject, he appears to have prudently avoided a precise statement of his intentions. Both parties engaged to restore the cities they had taken, and to send back unransomed those prisoners of war who had been detained in either of the two kingdoms.* As to the ransoms already paid, the money was to be reimbursed. This last clause is very remarkable, as an act of sovereign authority totally opposed to feudal laws and usages. The two kings thus claimed the right of disposing of property acquired by their vassals, and probably without making any indemnity for it. This, of all the articles of the treaty, seems to have given rise to the greatest number of difficulties. It must further be remarked that the peace was in reality entirely to the advantage of the Aragonese sovereign, who thus regained a territory of considerable extent, and many good fortresses, whilst the king of Castile only recovered a few unimportant castles, if indeed he had ever lost them at all.

* This treaty does not provide for the case of those prisoners who had been exposed for sale in foreign countries. Moorish captives were sold to Christians, and frequently, although it was expressly forbidden by the canons of the church, (especially by the council of Valladolid in 1322), Christians did not scruple to sell those of their own faith to Mussulmen. *See* Capmany, "Comercio de Barcelona," Part II. p. 225.

To the treaty of peace was to be annexed an amnesty proclaimed by the two kings, for the benefit of such of their subjects as had borne arms against them in the late war. Here, again, there was no parity in the situation of the two princes, for Don Pedro had only a very small number of Aragonese in his service, whilst Pedro IV. maintained a whole army of Castilian exiles. Furthermore, each made certain exceptions, perhaps in despite of the legate. The King of Aragon excluded from the amnesty a few exiles, formerly compromised in the disorders of the League. Don Pedro excepted eleven persons expressly named. At the head of the list figure the names of the Infante and Don Enrique, then Pero and Gomez Carrillo de Quintana,* who had been for a long time his declared enemies, and had recently been implicated in the real or imaginary conspiracy of Gutier Fernandez. Next comes Gonzalez Lucio, the Governor of Tarazona, who had sold that place to the King of Aragon; Lopez de Padilla, formerly captain of the ballesteros of the guard, whom we cannot but wonder to see amongst the emigrants, after the part he had taken in the murder of Don Fadrique; Suer Perez de Quiñones, Diego Perez Sarmiento, Pero Ruiz de Sandoval, all devoted servants of Don Enrique, and deserters from the king's standard; lastly, Alvar Perez de Guzman, husband of Doña Aldonza Coronel, and Garci Laso Carrillo, husband of another of Don Pedro's mistresses, Maria de Hinestrosa. As an especial favour, these two last were to recover possession of their confiscated estates, with the exception of their fortresses, which de-

* Cousin to Gomez Carrillo, who was beheaded the preceding year.

volved upon the crown. Within six months, restitution was to be made of the sequestrated property of the emigrants included in the amnesty; the non-observance of this article would bring an interdict upon the diocese to which the property belonged, or if its value exceeded a hundred thousand maravedis, the whole kingdom would be liable to excommunication.

It will be seen that Don Tello and Don Sancho, the king's brothers, although they had accompanied Don Enrique in his excursion into Castile, are allowed to profit by the amnesty. The former, however, is declared to have forfeited his pretensions to the lordship of Biscay, and to the other domains of his wife Doña Juana de Lara. The asylum granted by the King of Aragon to the eleven personages excepted from the amnesty, was considered as a mere temporary arrangement, for the two kings engaged never to receive in future any rebellious vassal into their dominions. This was a renewal of the treaty of Atienza, hitherto, as we have seen, so ill observed.

The legate, arbiter as well as witness of the treaty, annulled the sentences issued by Don Pedro against those exiles who were now pardoned, and at the same time revoked that which the Cardinal Guillen had promulgated against the King of Castile. By this last sentence, we may remember, Don Pedro was excommunicated, and his kingdom laid under an interdict. The very vague formula made use of by the Cardinal Guy de Boulogne, the trouble which he takes to reconcile and, in some measure, to assimilate the sentence of his predecessor with the decree of the King of Castile,

lastly, the affectation with which he endeavours to avoid the formal words interdict and excommunication seem to imply that the sovereign pontiff had not approved the judgment of the legate Guillen, or that he felt some shame at calling to mind the ineffectual use which had been made of his spiritual weapons. However, the words excommunication and interdict appear again in the penal clauses, and the legate takes care to add, that he alone will have the power of reconciling to the church that prince who should become guilty of an infraction of the present treaty. To the religious penalty, he does not forget to add a fine of 100,000 gold marks, half of which were to enter the apostolical treasury, and the other half to be paid to that party who should remain faithful to his engagements.

The two kings swore, in the presence of the legate, to observe faithfully the aforesaid agreements. At the same time with them, several Ricos Hombres and some concejos, represented by their deputies, repeated the oath, guaranteed its performance, and affixed their seal to the copies interchanged between the Castilian and Aragonese courts of chancery. This interference of the Commons, in a diplomatic act, shews the power of the burghers at this period, and the important parts assigned to them by the kings in political affairs.

But neither oaths nor seals were sufficient to secure the execution of a treaty; hostages must be given, and castles placed in the hands of a third party. It was agreed that the hostages should remain for four months in the hands of the King of Navarre, who was authorized

to surrender them to the individual aggrieved by an infraction of the preceding stipulations. The castles were to be placed at the disposal of the Cardinal-legate, who was invested with special power to nominate their governors and to receive the oath and act of homage.*

We in vain seek, in the long document just analysed, any article referring to the insults offered by the Admiral Perellos to the Castilian flag. It appears that this outrage, the cause of so inveterate a war, had been completely forgotten. Don Pedro neither demanded nor received satisfaction, and the historical documents I have consulted take no other notice of the event, than by recording the demand made on the part of the Catalan traders, whose merchandize had been confiscated as a reprisal for the outrage committed by Perellos. This petition was peremptorily rejected.†

The treaty of peace was soon followed by an alliance offensive and defensive between the two kings so lately at enmity with each other, although delicate negociations, necessarily of long duration, were pending with regard to the boundary line of the two kingdoms and the exchange of prisoners. Each promised his new ally to be the *friend of his friend* and the *enemy of his*

* Zurita, t. II. p. 305. Ayala, p. 326. Arch. gen. de Arag. register 1394, Pacium et Treugarum, p. 39, *seq.* The proclamations of the amnesty are variously dated, that of Don Pedro on the 7th of May, that of Pedro IV. the 14th of May, 1361. Same register, p. 54 and 55.

† Arch. gen. de Arag. register 1394, p. 77. Instructions to the Conde de Osuna, the Visconde de Rocaberti, Gilbert de Centelles, and Micer B. de Palou, the Aragonese ambassadors to Castile. No date, probably October 1361.

enemy; they also engaged to aid each other in their several wars with a squadron of gallies, armed, paid, and victualled for four months.* Pedro IV. took no account of the oaths he had sworn to his brother and Don Enrique; nor was he more scrupulous towards the King of Granada, to whose interference he owed the present peace.†

Encouraged by the happy termination of his mediation, and seeing the King of Castile totally occupied by his expedition against the Moors of Granada, the Cardinal-legate thought it a favourable opportunity for performing an act of authority, and for settling by virtue of the powers which he derived from the Holy See the differences between Don Pedro and the princes of

* The King of Castile declares that he will not aid the King of Aragon, should that prince go to war with the King of Portugal, and *vice versa*, the King of Aragon will not give the King of Castile assistance, in the event of his commencing hostilities against Sicily. This treaty of alliance was proclaimed at Deza on the 15th of May by Don Pedro, and on the 22nd at Calatayud by Pedro IV. Arch. gen. de Arag. register 1394, p. 60, and following. A copy with a few unimportant variations, dated from Seville the 15th day of June, Era 1399 (1361), and signed by Don Pedro, was then addressed to the Aragonese Court of Chancery. Arch. gen. de Arag. Pergamino, No. 2267.

† The negociations between Pedro IV. and Abu Said, are attested by Ayala and Zurita; it is only necessary to compare the dates of the treaty of peace between Aragon and Castile, and the war commenced by Don Pedro against Abu Said, to perceive the extent of the influence which the threat of a diversion in Andalucia had, in bringing about an arrangement between the two kings. I must, however, add that I have discovered no trace in the Archives of Aragon, of a correspondence between Pedro IV. and the usurper of Granada.

his family. The treaty of peace between Castile and Aragon excepted from the general amnesty the Infante Fernando, the Conde de Trastamara and a few emigrants attached to their fortunes, all declared by the king's sentence to be guilty of high treason. This sentence the legate wished to re-consider, and the time was so well chosen that there was no fear of opposition. The legate besides took care to establish his tribunal in a neutral court at Pamplona, in the King of Navarre's territory; there his judgment might be respected as impartial, given, as it was, at a distance from the parties interested, and also from the prince who had constituted himself their protector. On the 18th of August, 1361, the Cardinal solemnly reversed the sentence of the King of Castile, and reinstated in their former rights and privileges, the two princes, as also two of their followers, Pero and Gomez Carrillo, who had been proscribed with them. The reasons alleged for this decree illustrate the principles of the feudal law as it then existed.

"The sentence of the King of Castile," said the legate, in his judgment, "is illegal, first, because the nobles thereby declared guilty of felony, had, previously, by a solemn act, denaturalized themselves according to the Spanish custom, and, having found a home in the domains of the King of Aragon, were notoriously the vassals of that prince at the time of their condemnation.* Secondly, they had not the opportunity of defending themselves from the charge

*, *See* Appendix E.

of rebellion, brought against them for their conduct at Toro, in 1355, and sentence of condemnation cannot equitably be passed upon accused persons until their defence has been heard; thirdly, because they had been included in the amnesty which succeeded the pacification of the kingdom in 1356, by an authentic act bearing the king's seal; lastly, because the sentence of treason was pronounced against them at a period when Don Pedro, having incurred the excommunication of Cardinal Guillen, was legally disqualified for the office of judge."*

However, in reinstating the proscribed, the legate's decree did not contain any clause, forcing Don Pedro to restore them their property, or to revoke his own sentence. He made no alterations in the articles of the treaty which obliged the Infante and the Conde de Trastamara to live at a distance from the Castilian frontier, and satisfied his conscience with a kind of reproof of the king, who on his part cared little for the approbation of the church, provided it did not affect his own authority. In fact, Don Pedro did not trouble himself about this clause, if indeed it was brought under his notice, and the King of Aragon, who certainly received a copy of it, continued to manifest the greatest desire to consolidate a good understanding between his new ally and himself. Those articles of the treaty, which related to the personages excepted from the amnesty, were in reality the first and the most faithfully executed. The Infante Don Fernando was dispossessed,

* Arch. gen. de Arag. register 1394. Pacium et Treugarum p. 57—69, Pamplona, 10th of August, 1361.

of his office of procurador general, and constrained to reside in Catalonia.* Don Enrique quitted Spain for France, where he again led the life of a free companion; offering his lance to any one who would pay him for his services, and ravaging the country wherever his troop of exiles could maintain the superiority.† At last the interchange of prisoners was accomplished, rather slowly certainly, but, in the end, according to the letter of the treaty. It was no slight difficulty to obtain obedience upon this point from knights and warriors who had been long accustomed to regard their prisoners, espécially Moors and Jews, as property which they might dispose of at their pleasure.‡

* Arch. gen. de Arag. register 1394, p. 77. Instructions given by Pedro IV. to his ambassadors at the court of Don Pedro. The king charges them to excuse him for the involuntary delay of the Infante's departure, sickness having detained Don Fernando at Valencia, a few days after the time fixed by the last treaty. He is now in Catalonia. Compare Zurita, t. II. p. 307.

† Don Enrique and Don Sancho laid waste the senechaussée de Carcassonne in July, 1361. Dom Vaissette, "Hist. du Languedoc," t. IV. p. 316.

‡ Arch. gen. de Arag. Instructions to ambassadors, &c., register 1394, p. 77.

Ibid, p. 38. Letter from the King of Aragon to Don Pedro, announcing that he has given up the prisoners in his power, and claiming the Moors and Jews detained by a few Castilian Ricos Hombres, under pretence that these captives are not included in the treaty. Barcelona, 22nd of Nov. 1361.

Ibid, p. 39. Letter of Pedro IV. to the Infante Don Fernando, ordering him to surrender without delay, the Moorish or Jewish prisoners, whom he still detains. Same date.

Ibid, p. 35. Letter of Pedro IV. to Don Pedro claiming the

II.

History should not, I think, be limited to the narration of political events; it ought also to register such facts as throw light upon the manners and characters of the men of a past age. Before relating the results of the peace with Aragon, I shall repeat from Ayala, a remarkable anecdote which will give an idea of the manner in which justice was then administered in Spain. It contrasts singularly with the romantic ideas generally entertained of the good faith prevailing at judicial combats; moreover, it contains a grave accusation against Don Pedro, and upon a point of his character till then free from reproach; I mean his chivalric sense of honour.

Shortly after the death of Gutier Fernandez, the king, whilst at Seville, presided at a combat between four hidalgos. The challengers were two Leonese esquires, Lope Nuñez de Carvalledo and Martin de Losada. They accused two brothers, Arias and Vasco de Baamonte, Galician esquires, of treason. It was said that this challenge had been given at the king's instigation, and that the sole crime of the accused was their distant relationship to Gutier Fernandez. On

release of Doña Milia, nurse (ama) to the late Infante Don Juan and her son, both prisoners in Castile. Barcelona, 18th of Sept. 1361.

Ibid, p. 90. Letter from the King of Aragon to Don Pedro, on the subject of the restitution of the ransom of the Murcian prisoners. Valencia, 3rd of March, 1362, &c.

I omit several other letters in which allusion is made to the execution of the articles of the last treaty.

the four champions having entered the lists, accompanied by the king's chamberlain, Martin Lopez, who performed the functions of marshal of the field, Lope Nuñez was seen to leap from his horse and run to and fro over the arena as though in search of something. According to the laws of duelling, the combatants might make use of all the advantages which were offered to them on the ground; for example, they might pick up stones, if they found any, and hurl them at the enemy. By a judaical interpretation of this regulation, arms which might be accidentally found on the arena of the fight might be added to those which the combatants brought with them into the lists. But ordinarily the parties met in a sanded inclosure, which was carefully inspected beforehand by the judge who presided over the combat, and it was his duty to see that the two combatants should enjoy equal advantages. It was, besides, the marshal's office to prevent any one of the spectators from aiding the champions, and he therefore entered the arena with them. This time the marshal's partiality was evident. Martin Lopez, who alone appeared to understand the movements of Lope Nuñez, which as yet were perfectly inexplicable to the others, caracoled about the lists, and, every time that he passed a certain spot, struck the earth with a long reed which he held in his hand. The action did not escape the notice of Lope Nuñez. Sweeping the sand with his hands, he drew forth four darts evidently buried therein purposely, and hurled them at the horse of Arias Baamonte. The wounded animal, maddened by pain, sprung with his master beyond the barriers. To quit the lists, though only by accident, was con-

sidered as a defeat,* and the alguazils immediately seizing Arias, delivered him to the executioner, as being by the judgment of God declared a traitor. He was put to death on the spot. Vasco Baamonte, however, remained in the lists and defended himself valiantly against his two adversaries, who attacked him, the one on horseback the other on foot. Advancing towards the platform where the king sat, he cried out, "Sire, is this your justice?"† The king returned no answer. Then Vasco, raising his voice, exclaimed, "Cavalleros of Castile and Leon, do you not blush at this day's proceedings, carried on under the very eyes of our lord the king? What! in a field over which he himself presides, are there to be arms concealed in order to slay those that come thither to defend their honour and

* *See* in the *Romancero du Cid*, the combat of the sons of Arias Gonzalo against Diego Ordonez.

Sacole el caballo fuera
Del cerco que el rey ponia
Vencido es come su hermano
Y por tal el se tenia.

See also the *Poema del Cid.*

Los fieles è el rey enseñaron los moiones.
Libra banse del campo todos aderredor;
Bien gelo demostraron a todos seis como son
Que por y serie vencido que saliese del moion.

They measure out the lists, the barriers they fix,
They point them out in order and explain to all the six:
"If you are forc'd beyond the line, where they are fixt and trac'd,
"You shall be held as conquer'd, and beaten, and disgrac'd."

Frere.

† Señor, que Justicia es esta?

their life?"* Then, continuing to fight, as though in sheer despair, he so gallantly withstood his two assailants, that the king, admiring his valour, and ashamed, though a little too late, of the part he was acting, commanded the champions to be separated, and declared all three to be honourable and true knights. Thus terminated this combat, which public opinion has denounced as disloyal. But though the king's partiality was but too manifest, it is by no means certain that he was an accomplice in the treachery. We must also notice here a remarkable variation in the manuscripts of Ayala. In the more modern, we read that the four javelins had been concealed under the sand by the king's order, whilst in the ancient manuscripts this fact is omitted. We may, therefore, be permitted to believe that an interpolation has been added by some malevolent copyist.†

The circumstances which I have thus related enable us to understand why, in the excellent chronicles of Froissart, who was an enthusiastic admirer of the French and English knights, those of the rest of Europe, especially the Spaniards, are treated as barbarians. Probably at this period no lists, in France or England, would have presented a spectacle similar to that of the combat at Seville. Another fact of the same kind, and which follows close upon the preceding

* Caballeros de Castilla é de Leon, pesevos de lo que vedes que el dio de hoy se sufre en presencia del rey nuestro señor que se poner armas escondidas en el campo para matar á los que entrar en el asegurados del rey por defender su fama è su verdad è su linage.

† Ayala, p. 330.

one, shows that the Castilians had not much reason to pique themselves upon that chivalric spirit which, while endeavouring to equalize the strength of the champions in judicial combats, in some measure lightened these absurd trials of some portion of their atrocity. The same year Don Pedro permitted a combat, in closed lists between two inhabitants of Zamora, one of whom named Pero de Mera, a man in the prime of life, accused of treason a certain Juan Fernandez, surnamed the Doctor, who was an old septuagenarian, sinking under his infirmities. Both were on horseback, but the Doctor had no spurs. Unable to manage his horse, he tried to fight on foot; but in endeavouring to dismount he fell. Whilst he lay extended on the earth, kept down by the weight of his armour, his adversary came up and slew him like an animal in the shambles.* Such was the barbarism of the middle ages, when divested of the brilliant varnish of chivalric honour with which it was ordinarily disguised.

* Ayala, p. 350, note 3. Abrev.

CHAPTER III.

WAR WITH GRANADA.
1361 TO 1362.

I.

ABU SAID, the Granadine usurper, had not shown any hostility towards Castile; he had, on the contrary, on receiving intelligence of the compact between the King of Aragon and Don Pedro, hastened to write to the latter, professing pacific intentions, and offering the tribute which Mohammed, the deposed king, had paid.* But these tokens of submission could not allay the resentment of Don Pedro, who returned to Seville, panting for war; he could not forgive the Moor his alliance, or rather his negociations for an alliance with the Aragonese. Besides, according to the law of the middle ages, Pedro, in his character of suzerain, owed both assistance and protection to Mohammed, his acknowledged vassal; there was, consequently, no want of a pretext for attacking the usurper. Mohammed, who had retired into Ronda, a small principality independent of Granada, and holden of the African kingdom of the Beni Merin,† had still a few troops in

* Ayala, p. 324, 331.

† Marmol, Descrip. de la Africa, lib. II, p. 214.

the field. Don Pedro lent him money and promised him an army. The Christians, and those Moors who were faithful to the legitimate king, were to act in concert against Abu Said. It was agreed that all the places which submitted to the King of Castile, should be united to his crown, and that those which opened their gates to their ancient master, should belong to Mohammed. Thus, in succouring his ally, Don Pedro was in reality about to deprive him of part of his territory.*

At the opening of the campaign, the Castilian arms obtained some success. The king, at the head of the Andalucian militia and a very considerable number of volunteers, carried several fortresses, and defeated the Granadines in two encounters. These advantages, however, were of little benefit to Mohammed's cause. The protection afforded him by the Christians only rendered him obnoxious to the Moslems. Contrary to his expectations, no defections had taken place in his favour, and he gained nothing from his alliance but the mortification of seeing his subjects enslaved, his towns sacked, his mosques converted into churches, Don Pedro, it appeared, fought only for his own interests. I will not enter into a wearisome detail of the short and incessant incursions which were then dignified with the name of war; they were certainly totally different from those grand operations which, combined

* Ayala, p. 332. According to the Arab historians, Mohammed refused any personal share in this war, and remained inactive at Ronda, in the hope that his subjects would at last restore him his crown. Conde, "Hist. de los Arabes," part 1, cap. xxv.

with strategic science, decide the fate of empires.* The art of war, like so many other arts, was then lost, and a considerable time must elapse ere it could be recovered. I ought not, however, to omit one incident which will prove the inflexible perseverance of Don Pedro, who invariably substituted his own arbitrary will for feudal licence. Hitherto the slaves taken in war became the property of the noble who gained them by his own prowess, or that of his vassals. But the king commanded that in future all captives should be placed in his hands. Perhaps his intention was to restore them to Mohammed. Don Pedro promised, it is true, to pay for them according to a certain tariff which he had fixed, but through some error on the part of his treasurers or himself, the ransom of the prisoners was never exactly counted out. Hence arose bitter complaints, and much discontent amongst the nobles, who were accustomed to consider war a lucrative profession.†

The almost invariable good fortune of the Castilians was succeeded by an unexpected reverse. Diego de

* Don Pedro was accompanied into Granada by Don Fernando de Castro, Alvarez de Toledo, Diego Garcia de Padilla, and Gomez de Toledo, his force consisting of 6000 Andalucian and Castilian horse. The Granadines appear to have defended their country so resolutely and gallantly, that Don Pedro, after several days' skirmishes, which produced no advantage of any moment, was obliged to fall back and retire to Alcala el Real. On the eve of St. Thomas, 1361, however, Diego Garcia de Padilla routed a body of 2000 foot and 600 Moorish horse at Lineusa, on the banks of the Guadiana, a defeat, however, which the Granadines soon amply avenged. Ayala, p. 336.—*T.*

† Ayala, p. 337.

Padilla, Master of Calatrava, and Enrique Enriquez, Adelantado of the frontier, had undertaken, at the commencement of the year 1362, an expedition on the coast of Guadix. They commanded about a thousand horse, and two thousand foot-soldiers; but the men set out on this expedition with a heavy heart, knowing as they did that the king alone would enjoy its fruits; moreover, the auguries had proved unfavourable. At that period of ignorance and credulity, those who acted as guides in this species of guerilla warfare passed for sorcerers, especially in Andalucia, a province infected with Mohammedan superstitions. Rarely did the Adalides, as they were called, set out on any expedition without first consulting omens. The flight of birds, the meeting with certain wild animals, or some mystic ceremony indicated to them the road they should take, and foreshadowed what would be the issue of the enterprise. Although condemned by the Church, and despised by a small number of more enlightened persons, these practices were not the less followed and respected by the people, and indeed the soldiers believed themselves already conquered when the *adalid* did not promise victory.*

* Ayala, p. 337, condemns this superstition, as tending to produce fear and discouragement: (lo qual daña mucho en tales fechos desque los omes toman rescelo é miedo en las voluntades.) "The Adalides were people of great importance in an army. They were the guides; they were to say what quantity of provision was to be taken; to show where wood, oats and herbage were to be found; where scouts were to be placed; they had to direct every inroad. The word is interpreted in the 'Partidas' to mean guides. No man could become an Adalid, unless he were appointed to the office; and when a king or other

On arriving in sight of Guadix, the Christians, finding no enemy in the field, were divided into two

lord was about to appoint one, twelve of the best Adalides were to be convened, or if so many could not be found, the number was made up by the best informed men at hand, and they were sworn to say whether they thought the person proposed possessed sufficient: 1st, knowledge of the country; 2nd, courage; 3rd, good natural sense, and 4thly, honesty to qualify him for the office. Any person who undertook it without this authority incurred the penalty of death. When this jury had pronounced that he was qualified, the lord who was to appoint him should then give him raiment, a sword, a horse and armour, both of iron and *juste*, according to the custom of the country. A Rico Hombre, who has knights under him, was then to gird on his sword; but the blow on the neck was not to be given. Then a shield was to be laid upon the ground, on which he was to stand, and the King or Lord who appointed him, drew the sword and delivered it into his hands; his twelve vouchers lifted him on the shield with his face to the East, and he made two strokes with the sword, the one upward, the other athwart, so as to describe a cross, exclaiming, 'I, such a one, defy all the enemies of the Faith, in the name of God and of my Lord the King, and of my country;' and this he repeated towards the other three quarters. He then sheathed the sword, and the king gave him his badge of office, saying, 'I permit thee to be an Adalid from this time forward.' He was then allowed to bear arms and a banner, and to eat at the board with knights, and he might exercise authority by words over honourable men and knights, and over foot soldiers and the Almogavar-horse by deeds, striking them if they did amiss, not, however, so as to injure them." *Partida* II, t. XXII, l. I, II, III, IV.

"One of the reasons assigned for these honourable ceremonies at the creation of an Adalid was the danger to which he was exposed. For if he, or any of his sons were taken, there was no mercy shown him: the state purchased him of the captors and he was delivered up to the people, to be cruelly put to

bodies; of which one remained in order of battle, not far from the city, on the bank of a little river, and the other marched towards Alhama. The Moors had had intelligence of the expedition, and had made their preparations accordingly. The alarm spread every where. Six hundred Granadine horse, and four thousand foot soldiers, came to Guadix secretly, to reinforce the militia of the city and the neighbourhood. As soon as the detachment despatched towards Alhama was out of sight, the Moors attacked Enriquez and the Master of Calatrava, displaying at first only a part of their forces. The banks of the river being covered with reeds and shrubs, gardens and hedges prevented the Christians from perceiving the numerous bands pouring in from Guadix. Between the two troops was a bridge, with a very lofty arch, after the Arab fashion. There the action commenced. The Granadine genetours first crossed this bridge, and were vigorously repulsed. About two hundred Castilian horsemen, who had pursued them too hastily, fell amidst the Moorish infantry, who had issued from the city, and were driven back in their turn. They rallied at the

death."—*Milagros de N. Señora de Montserrat. Barcelona*, 1574. *Mil.* 23.

"In Barbary, every man of the district gave a dobra to the captor, of such importance was it thought to destroy them. The Alcayde of Alcocer saved one for the sake of Don Pedro de Menezes, though he was often called upon to give him up. He represented to the people, that the Adalid was not to blame in performing his office, and bade them remember how many lives their vengeance would cost: this latter argument prevailed." Gomes Eannes, "Chr. de Don Pedro de Menezes," c. XLIV. *Southey.*

entrance to the bridge, and remained firm for some time, calling out for assistance. Padilla and Enriquez, not perceiving the number of the enemy, imprudently abandoned the bridge, imagining that they could easily throw into the river those Moors who might attempt to cross it before them. The object of this manœuvre was not understood by their soldiers. On seeing the Moors masters of the bridge, the infantry imagined that all was lost, disbanded and took flight. A part of the genetours soon followed their example. The knights of Calatrava endeavoured to cover the retreat, whilst the enemy was whiling away the time by pillaging the baggage of the discomfited Christians; but their number was too small to struggle long against the ever-increasing multitude of the assailants. Evening came, and the Christians being now unable to recognize their chiefs, and the faint-hearted losing their sense of shame, it became utterly impossible to rally them. In the confusion of a night encounter, Padilla, who had been wounded in the arm, was taken prisoner, together with eight of his bravest cavalleros. Enriquez succeeded in gaining the frontier, with the wreck of his little army.*

This unexpected victory served rather to alarm than to encourage Abu Said. He rightly foresaw that Don Pedro, irritated by this reverse, would redouble his efforts to obtain complete revenge. Moreover, he was aware that the report of a war against the Moors would attract to Castile a large number of adventurers from all the neighbouring countries. It was no longer with

* Ayala, p. 336, and following. Rades, Cron. de Calatrava 57. Suarez, Hist. de Guadix, p. 141.

Don Pedro alone, but the whole of Christendom, with whom he was about to contend.

The truce between France and England condemned to inactivity a host of gentlemen, to whom war was a passion as well as a profession, and these would eagerly engage in a new crusade, impelled by a love of adventure, or, to speak after the manner of Froissart, inspired by the desire to perform deeds of arms, a motive perhaps then even more powerful than religious zeal. The count of Armagnac was crossing the Pyrenees with a numerous band of followers. From Guyenne arrived an English company, led by Sir Hugh de Calverley,* a knight destined to play an important part in the future intestine disorders of Castile. Finally, the King of Aragon, always ready to sacrifice his allies to his own interest, sent four hundred lances to fight the unhappy Abu Said, whom he had so recently excited against the Castilian monarch. It was not, however, until after much deliberation and many misgivings, that Pedro IV. decided upon sending these auxiliaries. For some time he had turned a deaf ear to the remonstrances of the King of Castile, who was continually reminding him of their new engagements. When pressed to explain his intentions, he at first excused himself on the score of illness, which prevented him from attending to state affairs;† afterwards, on account of the absence of his admiral, who,

* This is, I believe, the English orthography for his name. It is written Caurely, or Carbolay in Ayala's manuscripts, Cavirley in the registers of the Aragonese archives, Caurelée in Froissart.

† Arch. gen. de Ar. Letter from Pedro IV. to Don Pedro. Barcelona, 8th of September, 1361. Register 1391, p. 74.

having been charged to escort back the legate with two gallies, had been detained for twenty days between Barcelona and Avignon.* Nevertheless, he still protested his fidelity, and promised his assistance. While announcing to Don Pedro his intention of immediately despatching a squadron to fight the Moors, he was endeavouring to justify his conduct to Abu Said, and to assure him of his neutrality. A brave Aragonese knight, Pedro de Exerica, inspired by religious enthusiasm or the love of glory, had just quitted Valencia with a band of volunteers, to fight under the Castilian banner. Pedro IV. hastened to disavow his having sanctioned this proceeding. He was not, he said, a master who could prevent his vassals from making war on their own account. For himself, his resolution was taken not to interfere.† This double dealing lasted till the situation of Abu Said became desperate; he then raised the mask, and sent out Bernal de Cabrera and Pedro de Luna, with a strong detachment, to give the vanquished usurper his death-blow.

Abu Said would, perhaps, have prolonged his resistance, had he been upheld by the affection of his people; but the effeminate Granadines could only break forth into murmurs; they accused him of having drawn down upon their country a tempest which he was incapable of appeasing. They openly regretted King Mohammed, and the happy tranquillity of his reign. The African princes beyond the straits likewise watched with alarm

* Arch. gen. de Ar. Letter from Pedro IV. to Don Pedro, Barcelona, 25th of October, 1361. Same Register, p. 76.

† Zurita, t. II, p. 309.

the continual progress of the Christians, but their efforts to stem the tide were powerless; they cursed Abu Said's fatal ambition, which seemed likely to cause the overthrow of the last bulwark of Islamism in Spain.

II.

Detested by his subjects, abandoned by all his allies, and deprived of all hope of continuing the war, Abu Said saw only one way of disarming Don Pedro. "Kiss the hand that you cannot strike off," says an Arab proverb. He took this precept for his guide. Having made Padilla his prisoner, he received that noble, not as a conquered enemy, but as a mediator sent by Heaven, treated him with the greatest respect, declared him and his companions free, and finally conjured him to intercede in his favour. Won by his caresses, or perhaps seduced by his presents, the Master of Calatrava promised to plead his cause with Don Pedro; at the same time giving him to understand that the surest means of obtaining mercy was to make an immediate and complete submission. It is said, that, touched by the liberal conduct of the Moor, he swore, according to the custom of the age, to become his *friend and his brother*;* and that, trusting to his own supposed influence with the king, he firmly believed he could oblige him to withdraw his protection from Mohammed. Be that as it may, a few days after his defeat, Padilla quitted Granada with the other Chris-

* Rades, Cron. de Calat., p. 57.

tian prisoners, who, like himself, were released without ransom, and having returned to Seville, proclaimed the generosity of the Moor, and his ardent desire to obtain peace.

Don Pedro did not easily pardon a defeat. He received Padilla coldly, and soon proved to him that the ties of blood alone saved him from punishment. Shortly afterwards, an esquire, named Delgadillo, was condemned to death for having surrendered a badly-fortified donjon.* The war continued, and the king himself headed several expeditions into Granada.

It was after one of these incursions that Abu Said, yielding perhaps to the counsels of Padilla, whom he believed all-powerful at the court of Castile, determined to come in person, and by his submission obtain the king's clemency. Collecting together all his treasures, he left Granada privately, and taking with him only four or five hundred horsemen, presented himself at the Castilian outposts. He announced that he came to throw himself on the king's mercy, and asked to be conducted to his presence. Don Pedro was then at Seville; he received the Mohammedan prince with all the paraphernalia of royalty, seated upon his throne, and surrounded by his court and the principal leaders of his army.

"Sire," said the dragoman of Abu Said, "my master is aware that the Kings of Granada are vassals and tributaries of the Kings of Castile. It is to his suzerain that my lord appeals on the subject of his quarrel with Mohammed, the so-called King of Gra-

* Ayala, p. 341.

nada. To you it belongs to judge between them. Now the origin of the dispute is, that the Moors, ill-treated and trampled upon by this Mohammed, have elected as their lord Abu Said, by his birth a descendant of kings, and by his virtues worthy of his lineage. Were the controversy between him and Mohammed only, the issue would not be doubtful; but who can withstand your power? To offer resistance, moreover, would be to fail in the duty of a vassal. This is, therefore, the reason, Sire, that my lord appears before you, and submits himself to your justice, persuaded that your decision will redound to your character for magnanimity, and to the honour of your crown."

During this harangue, an ancient white-bearded Arab, named Edriz, who passed for the wisest of Abu Said's counsellors, fixed his eyes upon Don Pedro, as though endeavouring to read the fate of the vanquished king in the Castilian's countenance. Scarcely had the interpreter concluded, than Edriz exclaimed, "The sentence of the King of Castile will assuredly display his equity and clemency; but if, contrary to all probability, it should be favourable to Mohammed, my master Abu Said hopes to obtain for himself and his retinue permission to cross the sea, and lead a retired life in Africa."

Don Pedro replied with the gravity becoming a judge that Abu Said had done wisely to offer to abide by his decision, that he would examine into the claims of the two pretenders, and would pronounce between them according to strict justice. At these words, all the Moors bowed down to the ground exclaiming, in Arabic, "Sire, may God preserve you! We confide in the greatness of your wisdom, and commend ourselves to

your mercy." After this short interview, Abu Said with his suite was conducted to the Jewry of Seville, where apartments had been prepared for him. He was full of hope. He believed he had disarmed Don Pedro's anger, and reckoned that the treasures he had brought with him would suffice to win the favour of the grandees of the court, and in extremity even that of their master.

A few days afterwards, Abu Said and the principal Granadine Emirs were invited to a banquet at the residence of the Grand Master of Santiago. They were still at table when Martin Lopez, the king's chamberlain, and the usual instrument of his most rigorous decrees, entered the hall, accompanied by the ballesteros of the guard. He arrested the Moorish King, and his principal counsellors. At the same time, their companions who had remained in the Jewry were likewise seized, as also their baggage. After having been robbed of the magnificent jewellery which they wore on their persons, or had concealed under their clothes, they were all conveyed into the prison of the arsenal. Lodged indiscriminately in dungeons, they for two days waited the king's sentence. After this delay, the unhappy Abu Said was sent for, and derisively arrayed in a purple robe. Mounted upon an ass, and followed by thirty-seven of his emirs, he was conducted out of the city behind the Alcazar into a field set apart for military exercises.* There all were tied to stakes; a herald crying out, "This

* The plain of Tablada, or the scaffold. Mariana describes it as a place set apart for the execution of criminals, and its name certainly corresponds with the description.—*T.*

is the sentence which our lord, the king, passes upon those traitors who have put to death their lord, King Ismaël." Immediately, some men-at-arms and even Castilian knights caracoled around the prisoners as in a *juego de cañas,** and pointing their darts at them as at

* "The 'juego de cañas' is an Eastern sport. In the Atmidan (the old Hippodrome) at Constantinople, the Spachies of the Court play every Friday at 'giocho di canni,' which is no other than 'prison base' on horseback, hitting one another with darts, as the others do with their hands, which they never throw counter, but at the back of the flyer. Nor is it the least contentment to the Christian, to behold the many terrible falls that they often get (not rarely costing them their lives), whilst, by the wreathing of their bodies, or a too hasty turn, they seek to avoid the pursuer: and sometimes the darts not lighting in jest on their naked necks and reversed faces."—*Sandy's Travels*, 34.

"The military men in Persia are constantly playing at 'jureed-bazee,' which is throwing a dart three cubits long at a horseman when they are in full gallop. The person at whom it is thrown, either catches it in his hand, or throwing himself under the horse's belly, allows it to fly over him. This they perform very expertly, which is by no means easy when we recollect that the horse is going nearly at his speed. The jurreed comes with sufficient force to break an arm." Waring, 56.

Bertrandon la Brocquiere saw another kind of 'juego de cañas' at Constantinople, which he seems to have regarded with great contempt. "They carried us," he says, (p. 232), "to see a feast given on account of the marriage of one of the emperor's relations. There was a tournament after the manner of the country, but which appeared very strange to me: I will describe it. In the middle of a square they had planted, like to a quintany, a large pole, to which was fastened a plank, three feet wide and five feet long. Forty cavaliers advanced to this spot, without any arms or armour whatever but a short stick. They at first amused themselves by running after each other, which lasted for about half an hour; then from sixty to fourscore rods of alder were brought, of

a target, killed them, one after another. It is said that Don Pedro himself hurled the first javelin against Abu Said, exclaiming, "Take that in payment of the miserable treaty you caused me to make with the King of Aragon—that for the castle of Ariza which I lost through you." The wounded Moor replied haughtily, "Is this thy chivalry?" and he immediately expired, pierced with darts.* That was a glorious age indeed when knights ran at defenceless men as at their quintain, and a king even might be seen publicly performing the office of executioner! The heads of Abu Said and his companions were carried to Mohammed. It was a congratulatory present in honour of his investiture.

Ayala attributes Abu Said's death to Don Pedro's avarice, which was, he says, excited by the sight of the rich jewels brought by the Mohammedan prince to Seville. But these splendid rubies and pearls,† of which

the thickness and length of those we use for thatching. The bridegroom first took one, and set off full gallop toward the plank to break it: as it shook in his hand, he broke it with ease, when shouts of joy resounded, and the instruments of music, namely, nacaires, like those of the Turks, began to play. Each of the other cavaliers broke his wand in the same manner. Then the bridegroom tied two of them together, which, in truth, were not too strong, and broke them without being wounded. Thus ended the feast, and every one returned to his home, safe and sound." Quoted in Southey's "Chronicle of the Cid."

* Ayala, p. 339, and following. Conde, "Hist. de los Arabes," Part IV. cap. XXV.

† On the person of Abu Said, writes Mr. Dillon, who like M. Mérimée, follows Ayala, were found three pearls of great

our chronicler gives an exact description; Abu Said had offered to his judge already; and the king, had he been as avaricious as he is represented, need not have shed human blood in order to become their proprietor. He had no doubt seriously accepted the office of umpire between the two Pretenders to the throne of Granada. As Mohammed's suzerain, he punished the usurper of his vassal's fief, and, however cruel the sentence, he did no more than exercise a right acknowledged by both princes. The rebellion and treason of Abu Said were known facts, he perhaps merited his fate; but his courage and his noble confidence ought to have disarmed the rigour of his judge. Don Pedro recollected with a kind of savage pleasure that the Red King, such was the nickname the Castilians had given to Abu Said,* had neglected to demand as was usual, a safe

price, one nearly the size of a pigeon's egg. From a dwarf who waited on the ex-king, they took a string of pearls, containing six hundred and thirty in number; and from one of the pages, many of the same as large as a pea. About several of the emirs were also discovered cornelians, turquoises, and other jewels. —*Dillon*, vol. I. p. 190.

Among the gems specified in an Arabian manuscript, which was discovered by Gayangos in the British Museum, and which gives a contemporaneous account of Abu Said's ill-starred expedition and fate, is a huge ruby that Don Pedro presented to the Prince of Wales after the victory of Navarrete. "This is," says Mr. Ford, "the fair ruby, great like a racket ball, which Queen Elizabeth showed to Mary of Scotland's ambassador, Melville, and which the canny chiel wanted her to give to his mistress; it is the identical gem which now adorns the royal crown of England in the Tower."

* There is a most perplexing confusion of names among the

conduct before presenting himself at the conqueror's

Granadine princes; the usurper in question is called by the Moorish authorities cited by Conde, indiscriminately Abu Abdalla and Abu Said, and is celebrated by Spanish writers, either as El Rey Bermejo, the Red King, in allusion to the colour of his hair and beard, or as Mohammed Ben Alahmar.

Hateful as Don Pedro's conduct towards his royal guest was, it must be admitted that never did political adventurer more richly deserve his fate, than did Abu Said. He had first attempted the life of a mild and generous prince, and, subsequently finding that his downfal and the ensuing revolution were insufficient to satisfy his own ambition, he turned against the puppet he had set up, his ill-starred cousin, Ismael Ben Yussuf. Not content with depriving him of the authority he was so unfitted to exercise, Abu Said treated Ismael with the utmost contumely, reproached him with crimes he had himself instigated, ordered his satellites to despoil the deposed prince of his royal robes, and to convey him to a prison reserved for the lowest malefactors, and finally had him murdered before reaching his place of confinement. The heads of Ismael and his younger brother Cays, were held up to public view; the soldiery seized them by their long hair, and flung them into the open road, nor did any one dare to bury their mangled bodies. But setting aside his cruelty to his relations, and his unscrupulous use of treachery and intrigue, to obtain supreme power, crimes unfortunately too common among Mohammedan despots, Abu Said rendered himself obnoxious to his subjects, by his restless tyranny and arrogance; and his people had good reason to regret Mohammed, an instance of whose humanity and disinterestedness has been already cited. Mohammed Ben Abdalla, a contemporary of Abu Said, and author of the "Specimen of the Full Moon," under which fanciful title, we find sketched the history of Granada, describes him as one universally and deservedly detested, and while he blames the Castilian monarch's ungenerous behaviour towards a fallen foe, and flagrant breach of

tribunal.* Thus, treating the rights of nations as though no more than a system of chicanery, he took advantage of the omission of a formality to slay a too confiding enemy! It appears to me, that in deciding upon Abu Said's death, the king was influenced by two motives, the first of which he proclaimed while hurling his javelin at the Moor, he could not pardon the momentary anxiety the usurper had occasioned him, and the treaty which he had lately signed with Aragon. The second was mere political calculation. If Mohammed were once firmly re-established upon the throne, and owed his restoration to Don Pedro, he would be in future a faithful ally, or rather a devoted slave, one whose docility would never fail his master. The result proved that Don Pedro was not mistaken.

III.

The uninterrupted narration of the events which brought the Granadine war to a termination, has until now prevented the relation of a domestic tragedy which has left an odious stain upon the character of Don

hospitality—the last a heinous offence indeed in the eyes of an Arab—he does not omit to infer in the moralizing vein, so usual among Mohammedan historians, that the end of the betrayed Abu Said was intended as a lesson, "that man should learn therefrom that there is no station or power, which can exempt the evil doer from the justice of the eternal decrees." And in another place: "Never can they prosper who seek a defence and a shield any where, save in God. They are like the spider labouring at her web—oh, how fragile are the labours of the spider!"—*T.*

* Ayala, p. 345.

Pedro. Shortly after the conclusion of the peace between Castile and Aragon, about the middle of the year 1361, Blanche de Bourbon died in the castle of Jerez,* where she had remained many years a captive. She was only twenty-five years of age, and had passed ten of those years in prison. All modern authors agree with contemporary chroniclers in imputing her death to Don Pedro, while not a few affirm that in commanding it, he yielded to the instigations of his mistress Maria de Padilla.† Ayala, who is more explicit, and whose authority is of more weight than the rest, names the perpetrators of the murder, and the circumstances attending it. According to his account, the king first sent the fatal orders to Iñigo Ortiz de Estuniga, castellan of Jerez, by a certain Alfonso Martinez de Urueña, servant to the king's physician, and who had undertaken to give Blanche a poisoned draught. Ortiz having, like a true cavallero, declared that as long as the castle was under his command he would permit no attempt to be made on the life of his sovereign, was replaced by Juan

* Ayala, p. 328. Abrev. The Vulgar mentions Medina Sidonia; several other manuscripts, Medina de la Frontera. The city of Jerez is by some authors called by the Arab name of Medina, meaning city, hence perhaps arose the confusion between the two places. Blanche's tomb existed formerly at Jerez de la Frontera. According to the historian Zurita, Queen Blanche of Bourbon is interred in the church of San Francisco, in the city of Jerez de la Frontera in Andalucia. Garibay pretends that the French who came into Spain with the Conde de Trastamara, removed her corpse in order to carry it into France, but were obliged to leave it at Tudela in Navarre. This is, however, a mistake of that writer.—*Dillon*, vol. II, p. 127.

† Rainaldi. Ann. eccl. t. xxv.

Perez de Rebolledo, a simple ballestero of the guard. The queen died immediately after having been delivered into the hands of this wretch. Such is Ayala's version, it has been adopted by the majority of Spanish historians, and there is no contemporaneous testimony that can be adduced against it.*

The misfortunes of the young queen, her gentleness, and her touching piety, caused her death to excite general interest. A predestined victim, she knew nothing of Spain but its prisons, in which she had so long languished abandoned by all, neglected by her family, for-

* Ayala, p. 328 and following. "Romances del Rey Don Pedro," Appendix F. Roderic Sanchez de Arevalo, Bishop of Palencia, who dedicated his history to Don Enrique's grandson, Enrique III., and is the most violent of Don Pedro's maligners, imputes the queen's death to grief. Polydore Virgil, who is also no friend to Don Pedro, inclines to the same opinion. A third ecclesiastic, the Jesuit Mariana, says, "that the uncertainty that prevailed as to the place where Queen Blanche terminated her existence, renders the cause of her death equally a matter of doubt, though," adds the honest historian, "the malice of authors who all humoured Enrique, the bastard, occasioned crimes of every kind to be laid to the charge of his predecessor, Don Pedro, 'merely because he was unfortunate.'"

"We should be cautious," writes Voltaire, "how we give credit to a charge of this nature without sufficient proofs. It was, doubtless, the interest of the king's enemies to spread a report about Europe of his having poisoned the queen. Trastamara, who had the death of a mother and a brother to avenge, took the advantage of the conjuncture." Honest as we have every reason to believe Ayala to have been, it must never be forgotten, that to Don Enrique, and Don Enrique's successors, he owed his bettered fortunes, and that he naturally repeats the reports which it was the policy of a king, who obtained his crown by a brother's murder, to promulgate.—*T.*

gotten even by that chivalrous nobility who for a time had used her name as a rallying cry against the king's authority. Her death was imputed to Don Pedro, and not without reason; but the assertion of Ayala, convincing as it appears at first sight, is, after all, if we consider it impartially, of no more weight than the opinion prevalent among his contemporaries. The sanguinary disposition of Don Pedro does but too well authorise the supposition of a fresh murder, still, in my opinion the judgment of an historian should not be pronounced without serious consideration. Whatever cruelty may be attributed to the Castilian tyrant, it is impossible to deny that the bloody executions which he commanded were always dictated by the desire to punish grave offences, or by a systematic policy, the sole end of which was the humiliation of his great vassals. With regard to the unhappy Blanche, her miserable existence could not furnish him with aught to excite his thirst for vengeance, and what political interest could be forwarded by the death of one who had pined in such a state of entire abandonment for ten years? Shall we attribute it to the jealousy of Maria de Padilla? what had she, a queen *de facto*, to hope from her rival's murder? To place the crown upon her own head, will doubtless be the answer. But if so, how can we explain her having waited so long for the consummation of the crime which was to satisfy her utmost ambition? Again, let us remember that even the enemies of Maria de Padilla have been compelled to praise her gentleness. Never has she been reproached with making a bad use of her influence; frequently did she succeed in calming

the passionate outbreaks of her lover, and not a single instance can be brought forward, in which she has exhibited animosity against the ephemeral rivals whom the inconstancy of Don Pedro so frequently threw in her way.

The moment of Blanche's death is precisely that in which such an event would appear perfectly useless to the despot who might have commanded it at any time. His power was at that period firmly established, the queen too entirely cast off, for her name to become the signal for a revolt. The peace with Aragon and the retirement of the Conde de Trastamara had rêmoved all cause for apprehension. Even the demands of the Sovereign Pontiff had ceased long before this time. At a period when the whole world had forgotten Blanche, what motive could there be for shortening by violence an obscure life which was already expiring in a dungeon?

One hypothesis is offered, specious enough at first glance, which might explain Don Pedro's object in dooming his innocent victim to death. It is certain that after the peace concluded with Aragon, it was thought desirable to confirm the friendly understanding between the kings by a marriage, and negociations were commenced for that purpose. An union was first proposed between the King of Castile and an Infanta of Aragon, afterwards one between a son of Don Pedro and Maria de Padilla, a child eighteen months old, and a daughter of Pedro IV. The date of these proposals not having been precisely ascertained by history, we are tempted to place it immediately after Blanche's death.*

* I found in the Aragonese archives, two papers bearing the

Hence it may be imagined that Don Pedro desiring to marry the Aragonese princess, purchased his liberty by a crime. Everything, however, indicates that this alliance, originally proposed by the King of Aragon, was coldly received by Don Pedro, who was never sincerely reconciled to that prince. The peace that he had just signed against his inclination was to him merely a kind of truce, which might afford him the opportunity of putting an end to his anxieties on the subject of Granada; and the conclusion of the history will prove that he was resolved to take the first favourable opportunity for recommencing war. Moreover, for the king to receive his liberty entirely, the death of Blanche was not more necessary than that of Maria de Padilla, who for ten years had been treated as a queen, and regarded by the whole court as his legitimate wife. And although Maria de Padilla's decease

same title: (Super Matrimonio, reg. 1394. Pacium et Treugarum, p. 87, and following.) The first is a power of attorney from Pedro IV. to Bernal de Cabrera to conclude the marriage of the Infanta Juana, his daughter, with the King of Castile, and to attend to the interests of the young princess. This document is dated from Barcelona, the 17th day of December, 1361. The second paper, dated the 19th of December, is a power of attorney given by the Infanta to Bernal de Cabrera, in which, acknowledging herself to be above fourteen years of age, and less than twenty, she renounces, according to custom, her right to allege her minority, and authorizes him to make such matrimonial stipulations as are necessary. Such documents having been signed by the King of Aragon and his daughter, it may be concluded that the negociations must have been far advanced in the middle of December, 1361. The preamble of the king's power of attorney runs thus: "Attendentes quod inter nos et illustrem Petrum

quickly followed that of Blanche; I am not aware that any one has as yet imputed that event to Don Pedro. Finally, if the life of Blanche were terminated by poison, it was an unnecessary crime of which we should hardly find another example throughout Don Pedro's career. But why not believe that this death was natural? About the same period the black plague re-appeared in Spain and devastated Andalucia. Moreover, do not ten years of captivity suffice to explain the premature end of a poor young girl, banished from her native land, separated from her kindred, bowed down by humiliation and suffering? It seems rather a matter of surprise that she should have endured her desolate and painful situation so long. Whatever value I may attach to Ayala's testimony, I cannot help imagining that in this instance he became the echo of a mere popular rumour, and that he has too readily accredited a crime which he was at most unable to prove.

Whilst the Castilian nobility forgot the young princess, not long ago their idol, the angelic gentleness and edifying piety of the captive had inspired the people with the most lively compassion for her misfortunes. Her jailors, seeing her incessantly engaged in devotion, regarded her as a saint, and represented her as such to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood.* One day that

regem Castelle tractatur de matrimonio contrahendo inter ipsum regem et inclytam *infantissam* Iohannam filiam nostram carissimam." Compare Zurita, t. II, p. 308.

* The inscription traced upon her tomb at Jerez, though certainly a very long time after her death, confirms this opinion of her sanctity:

[CHRISTO.

the king was hunting in the environs of Jerez, a shepherd, accosting him with that familiarity common to Andalucian peasants, said, "Sire, God sends me to announce to you that you will one day have to render account for the treatment you pursue towards Queen Blanche; but rest assured that if you return to her, as is your duty, she will bear you a son who shall inherit your kingdom." The king's first impression was that this man was an emissary of Blanche. He had him arrested, and gave orders that he should be confronted with the captive. She was found in her oratory, on her knees before an image, totally unaware of what was passing outside her prison walls. It was proved that the shepherd had never even seen her, and that he had only repeated, with slight exaggeration, the ordinary conversation of all the villagers. It will be recollected that Don Pedro had once ordered a man to be burnt alive for having given similar advice; he, however, was a priest, and the king was ever ready to suspect some act of treachery in men of that order. With peasants he could be humane, and accordingly he set the shepherd at liberty.*

CHRISTO OPTIMO. MAXIMO. SACRVM
DIVA BLANCA. HISPANIARVM. REGINA
PATRE. BORBONEO. EX. INCLYTA. FRANCO
RVM. REGVM. PROSAPIA. MORIBVS. ET
CORPORE. VENVSTISSIMA. FUIT. SED PRAE
VALENTE, PELLICE. OCCVBVIT. IVSSV
PETRI. MARITI. CRVDELIS. ANNO SALVTIS
MCCCLXI. ÆTATIS. VERO. SVÆ. XXV.

Copied by Señor de Llaguno, in Ayala, p. 328, note 3.

* Ayala, p. 329.

Maria de Padilla did not long survive Queen Blanche. She died at Seville, being carried off by a sudden disease, perhaps by the epidemic which was still raging at the commencement of the war with Granada. The king's grief proved the sincerity of his attachment. He celebrated her obsequies in the most magnificent manner, and caused solemn services for the repose of her soul to be performed with extraordinary pomp throughout the kingdom. Maria was regretted both by the people and the nobles, for she had ever used her powerful influence with moderation. When dead, she had not a single enemy. No act of cruelty has ever been attributed to her counsels; and if she sometimes exercised her ascendancy over Don Pedro's mind, it was always to deter him from those acts of violence to which he was so often prompted by his impetuous and resentful temperament. Among all the members of her family, Juan de Hinestrosa alone appears to have completely obtained his master's confidence. Diego de Padilla, although in high favour, was never entrusted with the king's secret projects. We may remember, for instance, that he was ignorant of the snare laid for Don Fadrique, and that it was not until the last moment that he was apprised of the fate designed for Gutier Fernandez. We may conclude from this, that the king was not governed, either directly or indirectly, by the relatives of his mistress. Undoubtedly they owed the important offices they held to the influence of the favourite; but they did not show themselves unworthy of their honours, and their birth entitled them to aspire to high distinction. Their elevation could not shock any of the aristocratic prejudices of the age.

CHAPTER IV.

RENEWAL OF THE WAR AGAINST ARAGON.
1362 TO 1363.

I.

THE war against the Moors had attracted to Seville a large number of Ricos Hombres and cavalleros, who were ready to take part in that species of crusade. The death of Abu Said and the return of Mohammed having restored peace, the king, before he dismissed those lords and knights, held a general Cortes at Seville, and there, before the three assembled orders, solemnly declared that Blanche de Bourbon had not been, and never could be his legitimate spouse, he having contracted a private marriage with Maria de Padilla before the arrival of that princess. The unsettled state of the kingdom had prevented him, he said, from announcing this union publicly, and he had been constrained to submit to a semblance of marriage with Blanche. In support of this declaration, he named the witnesses who had been present at the solemnization of his real marriage with Maria de Padilla; they were Juan de Hinestrosa, Diego de Padilla, Alonso de Mayorga, keeper of the Privy Seal, and Juan Perez de Orduña, his chaplain.

The first of these witnesses, we know, was dead, but the three others, who were present at the sitting, laid

their hands upon the Gospels and protested that the king spoke truth. The legitimacy of the children of Maria de Padilla was the natural consequence of this disclosure. Don Pedro presented to the Cortes his son Alfonso, then two years of age, declared him heir to his crown, and commanded that as such he should receive the oaths of the Ricos Hombres, and the deputies from the towns. The necessity of implicit obedience had long since been instilled into the Castilians by Don Pedro; no objections were raised, and the ceremony of taking oath was gone through with the usual form and pomp. A numerous procession of ladies and knights then went to the monastery of Astudillo,* where the body of Maria de Padilla reposed, and transported it with the ceremonial customary at royal obsequies into the chapel of the kings, in the church of Santa Maria at Seville. It must not be forgotten that the Archbishop of Toledo,† primate of the kingdom, preached on this occasion before the whole court, and made an apology for the king's conduct.‡ The former archbishop, Vasco Gutierrez, had died in exile; his successor seemed to be a good courtier. The times were greatly changed. That proud nobility, who ten years earlier, aspired to rule their sovereign, and even to control his private life, now decimated by the sword, bowed their necks under the yoke, endeavouring to disarm their inflexible conqueror by servile obedience.

* Zuñiga, Anal. Ecl. de Sev., t. II, p. 162. The convent of Santa Maria de Estadilla had been erected in Old Castile by Maria de Padilla herself.

† Don Gomez Manrique.

‡ Ayala, p. 350.

It is difficult at the present day to determine whether the declaration made by Don Pedro in the Cortes of Seville were sincere. On one side, the oath of the witnesses may have been dictated by interest or fear, and the king, who had found two bishops willing to pronounce a blessing upon his illicit marriage with Juana de Castro, was not likely to want parasites or courtiers ready to perjure themselves for his pleasure. Again, it seems strange that Don Pedro should have awaited the death of Blanche, and even that of Maria de Padilla, ere he made an avowal which the favourite and her relations were so interested in soliciting, and which the entire submission of his subjects rendered perfectly safe. Lastly, this remarkable declaration might well appear inspired by a very natural desire of imitation, so immediately succeeding, as it did, the famous act of the King of Portugal, who, in the preceding year had solemnly acknowledged his marriage with Inez de Castro, and caused public honours to be paid to her lifeless remains. The display of absolute authority made by one despot is thus frequently followed by another.* These considerations are undoubtedly suffi-

* The reader will remember the judicial sentence, said to be pronounced by Don Pedro in the case of the shoe-maker who had slain a priest. A similar story is told by Lemos of Pedro of Portugal. A priest who had slain a mason for some slight offence, was merely suspended from his sacerdotal functions for a year. The mason's son, dissatisfied, and acting as has been supposed, with the approval of the majesty of Portugal, killed the priest, was consequently in his turn brought to trial, and as a matter of course, condemned to death. The King of Portugal, however, on the warrant for the man's execution being presented to him, refused to sign it, on the ground that the punishment was not

cient to throw suspicion on the reality of the marriage of Don Pedro with Maria de Padilla. It is, however, only fair to state other and equally specious arguments on the opposite side. An authenticated testament of the king, the original of which still exists—a testament made shortly after the session of the Cortes—repeats in the most positive terms the declaration made before that assembly. We can hardly charge with falsehood such an act, written on a solemn occasion, and so to speak, in the presence of the dead. It must be added, that the character of Juan de Hinestrosa, as history depicts him, affords a strong probability in favour of his niece's marriage with the king. We can scarcely conceive that the knight who did not hesitate to follow his master singly when he surrendered his person to the rebels of Toro, would have prostituted his niece through motives of ambition or self-interest. An apologist of Don Pedro, admitting his marriage with Maria de Padilla, attributes to conscientious scruples, the extraordinary aversion which he always manifested towards the French princess; such scruples, however, cannot be attributed to Don Pedro without belying the testimony of his whole life.*

sufficiently severe. "Let the culprit," added the king, "be forbidden to meddle with stone and mortar for a twelvemonth." —*T.*

* Apologia del Rey Don Pedro, por el licenciado Don Jose Ledo del Pozo. Lib. IV. cap. I.

Mariana allows that Don Pedro's chosen witnesses were all four men without spot or taint, "whose characters were above suspicion," and adds, "who would not give credit to such testimony in any cause, in which aught less than the rights of succes-

II.

On dismissing the Cortes, the king announced that he would, ere long, in all probability be compelled to appeal to the fidelity of the nobility and commons in order to repel a fresh enemy. A serious danger, indeed, menaced not only Spain, but the whole Peninsula. The truce between France and England had left without occupation a large number of adventurers, who, knowing no other trade than war, followed it on their own account, when they could not find a prince who would provide them with a banner and pay. Assembling in numerous bands, or rather, forming a vast army which they called the White Company,* they

sion, and the inheritance of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon was concerned." *Mariana*, Lib. XVII. cap. VI.—*T.*

* I have vainly sought an explanation of this title "The White Company," which we find in Ayala, p. 351, and in several other authors. We may choose out of the following hypotheses. Perhaps the adventurers wore a kind of uniform, white vests for instance, to distinguish them from the other men-at-arms, who bore the insignia of their kings or lords. The second interpretation, which seems to me preferable, is this. The plates of wrought iron worn at this period, instead of coats of mail, which latter were now beginning to disappear, were then called *armes blanches*. *Armé à blanc*, or barded with plates of steel, were synonymous expressions. I imagine that the knight's companions, who were generally better equipped than the feudal militia, might have taken the name of the White Company from their peculiar armour, which was still novel, especially in Spain. Cuvelier, the author of the "Rhyming Chronicle of Du Guesclin," furnishes a third explanation: it is, that the adventurers carried white crosses.

[Ilni

pillaged the country, and levied contributions on the towns. Several of their chiefs, who had offered their services during the war against Granada, were it is said, only spies charged to reconnoitre the country which they proposed to invade. Following the example of their predecessors the Cimbri, the Free Companies had no desire to enter Spain until they had exhausted France. Their inroads were conducted with military regularity. In 1361 a considerable body of these pillagers had already insulted the Aragonese frontiers, and it had become necessary, according to ancient custom, to proclaim *princeps namque* ere this devastating torrent could be driven back.* They announced that they would shortly return in greater numbers, and that they would find means to open a road even into Castile.

> Il ni avoit en l'ost chevalier ne garçon
> Qui ne portast la croix blanche comme coton,
> Et la blanche compaigne pourtant l'appeloit-on.
>
> V. 7982.

But according to Cuvelier, the Adventurers did not assume the cross till 1365, when they were united under the command of Du Guesclin, and we see by the chronicle of Ayala, that the name of the White Company existed before that period.

* Carbonell, p. 189. "Nos per contrastar llur entrada, fem convocar lo usatge *Princeps namque*." "We to oppose their entrance proclaimed the accustomed *Princeps namque*." On this occasion Don Pedro wrote to the King of Aragon, to express his regret, that in consequence of the war with Granada, he was unable to aid that monarch in repelling these marauding companies, who were laying waste the Aragonese frontiers. "But," he added, "if it be necessary, I will willingly come in person, and unite with you in driving away these depredators." Seville, 24th of Sept. 1361. Arch. gen. de Arag. reg. 1394, p. 75.

To repel this influx of barbarians, large forces were required, and the imminence of the danger undoubtedly obliged the Cortes to supply the king with the resources necessary for a general armament. He quickly despatched the greater number of his troops to the borders of Aragon and Navarre, the probable outlet of the adventurers coming from France, for the province of Guyenne, which was governed by the warlike Edward Prince of Wales, was respected by the chiefs of the companies, the greater part of whom being English subjects, and protected more or less openly by the King of England, it was unlikely that they would dare to traverse Guyenne and attack Castile by the north-west. Don Pedro proclaimed that he was about to unite with the King of Navarre, in concerting such measures as the common weal or safety demanded. For several months, that scourge, the approach of which the king had announced, occupied all minds, and no one suspected the real motive that prompted the concentration of an army on the north-east of Castile. The audacity of the Knights Companions, as well as the ability of their leaders, was notorious throughout Europe. They ruled a nation of intrepid nomades, whom they could lead through all dangers, provided they held out hopes of rich booty. It was, besides, well known that the Conde de Trastamara had entered into a strict alliance with the chiefs of the principal bands. His name was sufficient to unite them in one powerful army, and it was feared that the King of France, whose interest it was to drive out these devastating hordes from his territories, might furnish the Conde with the means of attaching them to his service, and of invading Castile.

Don Pedro set out for Seville with a brilliant retinue, and advanced rapidly towards the north, preceded by his ambassadors, who were charged to make an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Carlos the Bad, King of Navarre. At this time no offer could be more agreeable to that prince, who had quarrelled with France, and was threatened by her with the loss of his domains in Normandy, and the northern parts of the Pyrenees. Besides, Navarre properly so called was more exposed than any other Spanish province to the incursions of the companies; and must sustain the first attack. Carlos, therefore, eagerly subscribed to all the articles which his powerful neighbour proposed. He even repaired to Soria, upon the Castilian territory, accompanied by the principal nobles of his court, amongst whom might be remarked the Captal de Buch, that illustrious captain who had signalized himself under the English banners. After being welcomed with the greatest courtesy, Carlos ratified the treaty which the Castilian envoys had just submitted to him. The two kings entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, engaging by solemn oaths to aid each other in all their wars, and, by a clause especially worthy of notice, promising to deliver up their emigrants.* The Navarrese king believed the treaty to be entirely to his own advantage. He was monarch of a poor country of but limited extent, and he thus acquired the protec-

* Don Josè Yanguas y Miranda, "Diccionario de Antiguedades de Navarra," t. III. p. 99. The treaty was made at Estella between the plenipotentiaries of the two kings on the 22nd of May, 1362, and ratified by Don Pedro at Carascosa on the 2nd of June following.

tion of the most powerful of the Peninsular kings. Anticipating a war with France, upon grounds strictly personal, it was no slight advantage to engage in his quarrel a prince who possessed a formidable navy, and well-disciplined troops. But it was not long ere he learned the price that Don Pedro set upon his protection. After the usual interchange of oaths, sworn upon the Holy Gospels, Don Pedro led Carlos aside into a hall of his palace, and there in the presence of a few nobles, the confidential advisers of the two princes, he suddenly revealed his intentions: "Brother king," said he, "we have just sworn that the first of us who should go to war should have the assistance of his ally. Know that this very day I call upon you to fulfil your promises. You are not ignorant that it was against my will that I made peace with the King of Aragon. When attacked by the usurper of Granada, I was forced to consent to a truce with the Aragonese, in order to save Andalucia from the ravages of the Moors, who were ready to invade it. This peace has cost me dear, for I have had to restore many cities and castles won by my arms. However I intend to retake them. I have determined to indemnify myself for all that this dishonourable war has cost me, and I expect that you, faithful to your oath, will aid me in this enterprise, both with your arms and body."

At these words the King of Navarre was much troubled, and with a faltering voice, asked permission to confer with the lords of his council. Don Pedro left him alone with them. The deliberation was short, for it was not unconstrained.

A Castilian army was assembled near Soria, and

might in a few days inundate Navarre. Moreover, Carlos felt himself entrapped in a snare, and in the hands of a bold man, unaccustomed to bear contradiction. He must obey, or he was lost, there was no choice. Carlos, very sorrowfully, chose the former alternative. Don Pedro, affecting not to remark either his hesitation or his unwillingness, thanked him, as if his assent had not been wrung from him by fear; and immediately dictated the course of conduct he was to pursue. After having, in a few words, explained his plan for the campaign, he desired Carlos to assemble his Navarrese troops as speedily as possible, and to enter Castile on the side of Sos, whilst the Castilian army marched upon Calatayud. The moment for the invasion was well chosen. The King of Aragon was then at Perpignan, at the very extremity of his kingdom, with nearly all the troops he then had at his command. Enrique de Trastamara and the other Castilian exiles, in the pay of the King of France, were waging war on the confines of the Rhine. Don Fernando de Aragon had openly quarrelled with his brother, and complained of having been sacrificed by the treaty of Atienza. Don Pedro, on the contrary, saw himself at the head of a numerous army, his kingdom was free from intestine commotions, he was obeyed by his subjects, and, either through interest, or fear, could secure the fidelity of his allies. He was now the self-appointed chief of a league in which all the kings of Spain had coalesced against Aragon.*

* Ayala, p. 353 and following. Garci Alvarez de Toledo, Master of Santiago, Martin Yanez, who had succeeded Simuel el Levi as

A few days after this interview, towards the middle of June 1362, the King of Navarre, perhaps in order to gain time, and delay his unwilling assumption of arms, sent his herald to *defy* the King of Aragon, that is, to declare war* against that potentate. His pretext was a very frivolous one. Carlos complained that, when prisoner to the King of France, he had vainly besought the King of Aragon to interpose in his behalf. "By the terms of the treaties," said Carlos, "the King of Aragon ought to have made war upon France, and by his breach of faith he had himself dissolved his alliance with Navarre."†

Don Pedro did not waste time in such formalities. Hardly had he taken leave of the King of Navarre than he set all his troops in motion. Early in June he invaded Lower Aragon. A number of towns and castles‡ surrendered without attempting any defence, or rather were taken at the first assault. Calatayud was the only city which dared to resist. It had no garrison, but the burghers were resolute and devoted; they beheld without trembling a numerous Castilian army deploy round their walls. Thirty thousand foot soldiers and twelve thousand horse hemmed them in on all sides, and a park of artillery, the largest ever yet seen in

the king's treasurer, Martin Lopez de Cordova, his new Repostero Mayor, Matheos Fernandez, his private chancellor, and Iñigo Lopez de Orozco appeared on the part of Don Pedro. Don Luis of Navarre, and the Captal de Buch, upon that of King Carlos.—*T.*

* The 14th of June 1362. Don J. Yanguas.—*Ant. de Nav.*, t. III, p. 100.

† Zurita, t. II, p. 312.

‡ The principal of these were Hariga, Ateca, Cetina, and Alhama.—*T.*

Spain, thirty-six engines ranged in order at once, showered down upon the unhappy city a flood of stones and other missiles. Nevertheless, the burghers of Calatayud defended themselves manfully. Every day they made murderous sorties, and so great was their daring, that the King of Aragon sent them orders not to expose themselves thus uselessly. Calatayud, like the majority of Spanish cities, was divided into two factions which had been at enmity from time immemorial, the common danger however reconciled them, and they now rivalled each other in the display of courage and devotion.* Nevertheless, numbers must prevail eventually. The Castilians carried the convent of the Dominican Friars, which was outside the town, and there took up their position. From thence they soon afterwards effected a breach in the outer wall, and their machines fired upon the church of San Francisco, where the besieged had entrenched themselves after the destruction of the ramparts. Every inch of ground was purchased with a battle, yet still the Castilians did not relax their efforts; slowly, but steadily, they advanced amidst heaps of ruins. From without, the unhappy inhabitants of Calatayud received the most disheartening intelligence. The King of Aragon, taken unawares, had neither troops nor money. He was threatened on all sides at once. The King of Navarre had attacked Sos† and Salvatierra.‡ His roving bands were carrying fire and sword to the gates of Jaca. Iñigo Lopez de Orozco, with a strong Castilian force, marched upon Daroca, and a report was

* Zurita, t. II, p. 312.

† Ayala, p. 356.

‡ Don J. Yanguas. Ant. de Nav., t. III, p. 100.

spread that he was shortly to be followed by an auxiliary army, led by the King of Portugal in person.* At the same time several Gascon lords, the hereditary enemies of Aragon, in the hope of sharing in the plunder, prepared to cross the mountains and invade it on the northern side. All eyes were anxiously turned towards Calatayud, and the frequent alternations of fortune during this memorable siege were watched with sorrowful anxiety. At this period it was a matter of astonishment to the nobility that burghers should fight so well, without having any Ricos Hombres, or nobles of distinction and reputation at their head. The Conde de Osuna and some cavalleros of the most illustrious families† conceived the bold design of making their way through the Castilian army, and shutting themselves up in the besieged town, in order to direct the efforts of the inhabitants. They set out from Zaragoza, with but a small retinue, that their intentions might not be suspected, but as they were about to pass the enemy's lines, a faithless guide revealed their purpose. They were surrounded in a

* Zurita, t. II, p. 311. The King of Portugal did not come in person, but he sent his ally, the King of Castile, a few auxiliary troops.

† The Conde de Osuna was accompanied by Don Pedro de Luna, Don Frey Artal de Luna, a brother of the Order of San Juan, and Gutier Diaz de Sandoval, a Castilian knight, whom Alfonso the Magnificent had banished on suspicion of having supplied Lerma with provisions whilst he was laying siege to that place. Ayala, as is his wont, represents Sandoval as a cavallero *muy bueno é de buen cuerpo*, and who, since his disgrace, had lived highly honoured in Aragon.—*Cronica del Rey Don Pedro* p. 358.—*T.*

small village and compelled to surrender. Don Pedro had them led before the breach, which was already more than forty fathoms wide, and ironically offered them permission to enter the town and share the fortunes of the citizens: "You see," said he to them, "that, if I think fit to make the assault to-morrow, I shall be master of the place. But I should be sorry so important a town should be sacked and destroyed. I consent to pardon the inhabitants. Do you exhort them not to persist in their unavailing resistance."

Notwithstanding their desperate condition, and although warned by the Conde de Osuna and his companions that they could expect no succour, the brave burghers of Calatayud refused to surrender without having first obtained their lord's permission. Don Pedro, well aware that if he gave the word of command for an assault, his soldiers would quickly reduce the town to ashes, allowed the besieged to send a deputation to Perpignan to acquaint the King of Aragon with their condition, and to require him either to release them from their oath of fidelity, or to send them succour. The terms of the capitulation of Calatayud deserve to be remembered. It was agreed that, if within forty days an Aragonese army did not appear, and force the enemy to raise the siege, the town should be surrendered to the King of Castile, but that the lives and property of the inhabitants should be spared, and that they should not be forced to emigrate. This clause, which, to modern readers sounds strange, is characteristic of the military laws of that period. We have seen, that a few years before, the Aragonese population,

of Tarazona were expelled in a mass, and replaced by a Castilian colony. It was thus that the conqueror paid homage to the valour of the burghers of Calatayud. The King of Aragon applauded their fidelity, and acknowledged that they had done all that brave men could in defence of the town. Unable personally to aid them, he provided, as far as in him lay, for the security of their lives and properties, and having freed them from the homage due to himself, permitted them to become the King of Castile's subjects, and to swear allegiance to that prince as to their future lord.*

In the middle ages, campaigns were of short duration. There were then no standing armies. The feudal vassals whom the king had summoned to arms, and the soldiers furnished by the towns, could not long be spared from their ordinary avocations. After a battle or a siege, it was usual to dismiss them for a time to their hearths. The only troops which then deserved to be called regulars, consisted of the soldiery of the military orders, and a few bands, insignificant in number, maintained by the king, and forming his body-guard. Thus it cannot surprise us that after the taking of Calatayud, the immense Castilian army dispersed without pursuing its advantages any farther. The king himself went to enjoy a few days' repose amidst the attractions of Seville. He left the three Masters, with their knights and ten thousand infantry, to watch the frontier and guard the conquered towns. This was sufficient to withstand an enemy who dared not appear in the open field.

* Ayala, p. 356-362. Zurita, t. II, p. 3. Villani, a very suspicious authority, asserts (lib. X, cap. XCVIII) that Don Pedro put six thousand of the inhabitants of Calatayud to the sword.

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III.

A heavy affliction awaited Don Pedro on reaching his capital. His son Alfonso, whom he had just proclaimed heir to his crown, died in his arms, of the terrible epidemic which was then desolating Spain.* The black plague, which had made such fearful ravages in 1350, and to which Don Alfonso XI. had fallen a victim, reappeared at the end of twelve years with greater virulence than ever. It was remarked that it was especially fatal in the provinces which had been the theatre of war. Calatayud suffered more than any other town, the scourge attacking, indiscriminately, the Castilian garrison and the burghers who had already been decimated by the siege.†

During the few moments of repose which Don Pedro's grief and the dissolution of the Castilian army allowed him, the King of Aragon hastened to recal the Conde de Trastamara, and to solicit assistance from the King

* Calatayud surrendered on the 29th of August, 1362, and on the 12th of September died Pope Innocent VI., the firm friend of the King of Aragon, and who had only a month before his death again hurled the Church's thunders against Don Pedro. On the 17th of October, just when the King of Castile was congratulating himself on the proud position he now held in Europe by the humiliation of one enemy and the removal by death of another, his only son, the heir to all his greatness, was taken from him. That Don Pedro felt this blow acutely, is evidenced from the fact that, on the 18th of the following month, he makes his will, in which he directs that his body shall be buried in the habit of St. Francis, betwixt his beloved mistress, Maria de Padilla, and his dead son.—*T.*

† Ayala, p. 363.

of France. Although Don Enrique had learned through bitter experience, how little confidence could be placed in the promises of Pedro IV., fortune had too intimately united their interests to allow him to resist the invitations of his former protector. Captain though he was of a Free Company, in the pay of the King of France, he had not abandoned his designs upon Castile. At the very time that Don Pedro was besieging Calatayud, and perhaps before the King of Aragon had again claimed his services, the Conde signed at Paris, with the ministers of King Jean, a remarkable treaty, from which it is easy to divine his ambitious schemes. He engaged to remove from France the great companies which were laying waste that kingdom.* Whither was he to lead them? This was a secret between the Conde and the Dauphin, who was regent of the kingdom during his father's captivity. No man possessed in a higher degree than Don Enrique, the talent of gaining

* According to this treaty, made between "the noble and powerful Messire Arnould d'Audenehan, Knight Marshal of France, and the members of the Free Companies now in the said kingdom, we will, to the best of our ability, and without fraud or unfair means, remove from the said kingdom of France, never to return for the purpose of making war, the members of the said Companies, that is to say, all those with whom the said treaty has been made by us and by the said Marshal; item, that we will use our utmost endeavours to take with us out of the said kingdom the Archpriest (Arnaud de Cervole), and also to withdraw from the said kingdom all the followers of the said Archpriest, &c., Paris, 13th of August, 1362." *Archives of the Kingdom, historic section, Carton J.* 603-58. *See also* Dom Vaissette, "Hist. de Lang." t. II, p. 316.

the confidence of all who approached him. On his first arrival in Aragon, though proscribed and conquered, he became at once the favourite of Pedro IV., and a participator in all his projects. He found means to obtain considerable subsidies from that avaricious prince, and, notwithstanding his ill fortune, his bearing towards his patron was more like that of an independent sovereign, than of a vassal in the pay of Aragon. Subsequently, when forced to quit that country, Don Enrique succeeded, after a few months' sojourn in France, in attaching a large number of Captains of Free Companies to his service. He had but little difficulty in rendering his brother's name odious to the court of France, but, what was a less easy task, he had also contrived to represent himself as the most formidable of Don Pedro's antagonists, and the sole hope of Castile. Nevertheless, some unexpected obstacle, the nature of which it is not difficult to comprehend, prevented him at that time from leading into Spain those redoubtable bands which he hoped to arm against Don Pedro. Neither France nor Aragon were then in a condition to furnish him with subsidies, and without money it was impossible to induce the Adventurers to follow him.* He could only bring Pedro IV. his ordinary retinue of banished Castilians, and yet when he re-appeared in Spain, his exile seemed to have increased his power. He was no longer, as

* The King of France had engaged to assist Don Enrique with 10,000 livres a year; however, the French King did not furnish him with ready money, but ceded to him lands whose revenue was accounted equivalent to an annuity of 10,000 livres.—*See* the treaty already cited.

formerly, a mere soldier of fortune, he returned as a prince predestined to wear the tottering crown which he was preparing to seize. In 1357 he had entered Castile with the title of procurador to the King of Aragon, willing to win cities and lands for that monarch; he now came to conquer a kingdom for himself, and the Aragonese had become his auxiliary. They had exchanged characters, Pedro IV. now demanded loans of his former lieutenant. In the commencement of the year 1363, at their first interview, which took place at Monzon, they determined to dethrone Don Pedro at their common expense, and to divide Castile between them. I subjoin their treaty, which is as remarkable for the importance of the stipulations, as for the absence of all the diplomatic forms then in use.

"The King of Aragon: We promise to give you, Don Enrique, Conde de Trastamara, honest and effectual aid in conquering the kingdom of Castile, on condition that you will give us, and will engage to grant in fee, with royal investiture, the sixth part of all that you shall gain of the kingdom of Castile, whether we shall be with you in our own person, or be represented by one of our vassals. And as we hold ourselves bound to assist in conquering the said kingdom, you on your part stand pledged to aid us in every encounter, and with that which you shall have conquered, and to be the friend of our friends, and the enemy of our enemies. Written with our hand at Monzon, the last day of March, in the year 1363. And I, the Conde Don Enrique, promise you, Sir King, that I will faithfully perform all that I engage to perform in your behalf, according to that which is hereinbefore

stated by you. Written by my hand, the day above mentioned. Rex Petrus. I the Conde."*

This treaty, written by the two princes with their own hands, was undoubtedly intended to remain secret until the day when it should be put into execution. Both were interested in concealing all knowledge of it from the world at large; Don Enrique fearing to injure his credit in Castile, by revealing the concessions which he had made to a foreign king; Pedro IV., because he would not openly break with his brother, Don Fernando, whose pretensions to the Castilian throne he had formerly openly countenanced, and whom he was now sacrificing to an adventurer, and that adventurer his brother's personal enemy. The Infante had opposed with all his strength the recal of the Conde de Trastamara; he had been upheld, even in the council of the king, by a large number of Aragonese nobles, who viewed with jealousy the high favour enjoyed by the Castilian bastard,† but his efforts had been unavailing, and he did not conceal his displeasure.

There must have been much self-confidence, and a boldness almost prophetic of success, in dreaming at this moment of the partition of Castile. Never did any plan of conquest seem less likely to be realized. On the contrary, the ascendancy of Don Pedro appeared more firmly established than ever. Whilst hostilities were suspended by the winter, he had secured a powerful auxiliary. It sufficed that France should favour the King of Aragon, for England to take umbrage, and be ready to uphold that prince's declared enemy.

* Arch. gen. de Arag. Legajo de Autografos. Appendix G.

† Zurita, t. II, p. 321.

About the end of the year 1362, some Castilian ambassadors had repaired to the Prince of Wales, at Guyenne, under pretence of concerting measures with him for resisting the invasion of the Companies, but in reality to propose to him an alliance with their master. This was concluded at Bourdeaux at the commencement of the year 1363. By this treaty, the Kings of Castile and England mutually guaranteed to each other the integrity of their possessions, declaring, according to the chivalric formula of the middle ages, that they would become friends, and aid each other against all the rest of the world.*

Don Pedro, exulting in this powerful protection, returned to Calatayud, and recommenced his incursions into Lower Aragon as soon as the spring permitted him to resume hostilities. The country being left totally undefended, the war was reduced to a succession of sieges.† A number of small towns and castles fell into the hands of the Castilians. Tarazona surrendered by

* Rymer, t. III, Part II, p. 73. Ayala, p. 364. This treaty was first signed in London, in St. Paul's Cathedral, on the 22nd of June, 1362, by William Lord Latimer and John Stretleye, Plenipotentiaries of the King of England, on the one part, and Diego Sanchez Terrazas, Cavallero, and Alvaro Sanchez de Cuellar, Bachelor of Laws, Ambassadors of the King of Castile, on the other, and was further confirmed at the Palace of Westminster, on the 3rd of September following.—*T.*

† The first fury of the campaign was discharged upon Malvenda, Aranda, and Borgia. Ayala, p. 365. "Meantime the King of Navarre entered Aragon on the other side, ravaged the districts of Exerica de Tiermas, carrying slaughter, pillage and desolation wherever he went, and acquiring as much odium as was possible." Mariana, Lib. XVII, cap. 6.—*T.*

capitulation; Cariñena was taken by assault. The Aragonese chroniclers accuse the conqueror of having sullied his triumph by horrible cruelties. According to their account, Don Pedro, irritated by the heroic resistance of the burghers of Cariñena, had them all massacred, reserving the principal of them to be tortured and murdered in cold blood a short time afterwards.*

IV.

I must be permitted to discontinue for an instant the monotonous narrative of a medieval war, to call the reader's attention to a remarkable document which betrays some striking features of Don Pedro's character. I allude to his testament executed at Seville during the winter of 1362, whilst he was preparing to recommence the war in which we leave him engaged. This record, the original of which is still in existence, appears to me well worthy of examination. No other indeed could reveal more clearly the views and designs of the prince whose life I have undertaken to write.

After the religious formulas then usual in such deeds, the king fixes the place of his sepulture. His tomb was to be erected in the new chapel that he was building at Seville. On his right hand was to repose Maria de Padilla, whom he designates as the queen his wife; at his left Don Alfonso, his son, whom he calls the Infante. He next regulates the order of succession to the throne.

* Compare Ayala, p. 366. Zurita, t. II, p. 318. Abarca, "Ann. de Aragon," attributes the taking of Cariñena to the misunderstanding between the Infante, Don Fernando, and Don Enrique, who refused to unite their forces to succour the place.

First, he nominates Beatriz, his eldest daughter; failing her, Constanza; then Isabel, all three daughters of Maria de Padilla, and here ranked as Infantas of Castile; lastly, a natural son, who was only to inherit the crown in case the three princesses should die without issue. The name of this son and that of his mother are problematical to this day. Wherever they are mentioned, we observe, in the original instrument, the marks of evident alteration—of ill-concealed erasures. The parchment bears the marks of the pen-knife, and is in several places pierced through, while the colours of the ink, the gaps and the orthography, which is obviously modern, all betray the work of an unskilful forger. For the name originally written, has been substituted that of Don Juan, son of Doña Juana de Castro. Now the very existence of this son is more than doubtful, no contemporary author having substantiated his birth. There is no doubt but that the testament was altered a considerable time after the king's death, and, according to all appearance, with the intention of embellishing some genealogy. Señor de Llaguno, an excellent judge in such matters, imagined he could discern, notwithstanding the alterations, that the name originally written was that of Don Fernando, son of Doña Maria de Hinestrosa, wife of Garci Laso Carrillo. This conjecture is the more probable, inasmuch as the king's connection with that lady is attested by Ayala, and, moreover, it is natural to suppose that Don Pedro would shew preference for this son, as belonging to the Padilla family.

In naming the Infanta Beatriz as first in succession, the king commands her to marry the Infante of

Portugal, to whom he had already affianced her, and whom he designed to rule jointly with his daughter. In this is manifest Don Pedro's ever present thought —the aggrandizement of Castile, which would then form one kingdom with Portugal. In default of the Infante of Portugal, Doña Beatriz is free to choose a husband for herself; her father, however, prohibits her, under penalty of his curse and disherison, from marrying either Don Enrique, Don Tello, or Don Sancho, whose ingratitude and treachery he recals. This prohibition appears to us strange, remembering the near relationship existing between Doña Beatriz and the three bastard brothers of the king. Perhaps it was intended to counteract some project conceived at that period with the design of terminating the civil wars of Castile by an union between the bastards and the royal family.

Having thus determined the order of succession, Don Pedro is next occupied with distributing his private wealth amongst his children. His daughters are well provided for, his son has only a trifling legacy. He divides his personal property into six parts, amongst which figures a large quantity of jewellery. Beatriz is to have three shares, Constanza two, Isabel only one. The king mentions separately the pearls, jewels, and other precious articles, which he bequeaths to each of the Infantas, as also the arms which he reserves for his son. We will not follow him in this enumeration, which can only interest the antiquary, but pass on to more remarkable legacies. According to custom, the king orders certain pious works for the health of his soul,

and insists especially upon one which does him honour; namely, the redemption of a thousand Christian captives from the Moors.

Immediately after these bequests, which are evidently dictated by religious feeling, we find others which must have been prompted by very different motives. Four women, whose names he specifies, are to receive,—the first, 2000 Castilian doubloons, the others only 1000, on condition that they all take the vows. This last clause, in which we may trace a despotic feeling of jealousy, which would survive death itself, evidently relates to certain obscure mistresses; their names are not, however, cited in any chronicle, and but for this testament, they would be perfectly unknown. Mari Ortiz, sister of Juan de San Juan, appears to have been the favourite, since she had the legacy of 2000 doubloons. The others are Mari Alfon de Fermosilla, Juana Garcia de Sotomayor, and Urraca Alfon Carrillo. These names do not indicate an illustrious parentage,* and we may remark, that not one of them is preceded by the word Doña, which nevertheless was at this period granted by courtesy to women whose fathers or husbands did not bear the title of Don.

The king recommends his daughter and her successors to retain in their offices all his loyal servants, and he expressly mentions Diego de Padilla, his brother-in-law; the Masters of Santiago and Alcantara; Juan Garci Gomez Carrillo,† the Prior of San Juan; Martin Lopez, his chamberlain; Martin Yanez, his treasurer;

* Mari, instead of Maria; Alfon, instead of Aldonza.

† *See* § XII.—V.

Matheos Fernandez, chancellor of the privy seal; Ruy Gonzalez, his grand equerry; lastly, Zorzo, captain of the ballesteros of his guard, who had defeated an Aragonese squadron.

The question of the guardianship of his children was assuredly the most important that the king had to determine. It might have been expected that his choice would fall upon Diego de Padilla, the uncle of his daughters, who must have been more interested than any one else in the preservation of their rights. Nevertheless, the king appoints Garci Alvarez, the Master of Santiago, to these important functions; and, in his default, Garci Carrillo, Prior of San Juan, although that prelate was allied to a family professedly hostile to Don Pedro. Diego de Padilla, notwithstanding the constant favour he enjoyed with his master, had never possessed that master's confidence. Of this several proofs have already been given.*

I have thought it right to analyse this remarkable document; for my design is not merely to narrate the events occurring in Don Pedro's reign, but to study the character of a prince who has been so variously judged. His testament may perhaps be regarded as the expression of his most secret thoughts, and for that reason deserves to be examined with especial care. Every line reveals the despot, but has withal an air of greatness. Don Pedro did not think that his testament was sufficient to ensure the crown to his eldest daughter. He determined to have her rights confirmed by a still more

* "Testamento del Rey Don Pedro." "Cronica de Ayala," Edi. Llaguno, p. 558, and following.

solemn act, and therefore required the representatives of the nation to repeat the oath they had taken the preceding year to her brother, Don Alfonso. Contrary to custom, he convoked the Cortes beyond the Castilian frontiers, at Bubierca, an Aragonese town, of which he had just taken possession. By assembling the national council in the midst of a camp, upon a territory conquered by his arms, he perhaps wished to show that the limits of the kingdom were not fixed, and that, wherever he planted his banner, he was king. This is not the only innovation we find in this Cortes, whose acts are unhappily little known.

The Infanta Beatriz having been solemnly proclaimed heiress to the crown, the king anticipated and regulated, as he had done in his testament, the eventual rights of his two other daughters, in case their eldest sister should die without issue. I do not find that he made any mention of his natural son, who is named in his testament after the Infantas. Perhaps the king feared exacting too much from the obedience of his people. After having received the oath of the Cortes, he had an attested account of the sitting drawn up, to which all the deputies present affixed their signatures; a singular formality quite unusual in that age. Then, as if he had wished that the whole nation should become party to his acts of vengeance, he caused to be read in the midst of the assembly a list of those nobles who were banished the kingdom and declared guilty of high treason.* This roll of proscription was the

* Ayala, p. 366. Ayala has not mentioned the names of the nobles thus proscribed by Don Pedro; we are ignorant what were the motives for this concealment. It is certain that he was not

longest which had ever yet appeared. No protest was made against it; but the decree was not the less disapproved by all the nobility. It struck a blow at the privilege so dear to the Ricos Hombres, that of changing at their pleasure their country and suzerain. They saw that they were slaves, and that the sword was ever ready to fall upon him who should attempt to break his chains.

himself included in this list, although modern authors have advanced that opinion.

CHAPTER V.

MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE KINGDOM OF VALENCIA—DEATH OF THE INFANTE OF ARAGON—DEFECTION OF THE KING OF NAVARRE.

1363.

I.

THE success obtained by Don Pedro had stimulated the zeal of his allies. Gil Fernandez de Carvalho, Master of the Portuguese order of Santiago, brought him three hundred chosen men-at-arms. The Infante Luis de Navarre and the Captal de Buch rejoined his standard, with a numerous band, bringing intelligence of certain conquests already made in Aragon by the King of Navarre.* Lastly, Mohammed, King of Granada, sent the Castilian army a Mussulman captain, whom contemporary authors regard as a knight, and whom they call Don Farax, son of Reduan.† This last

* Amongst others that of Salvatierra, in the Partido de Cinco Villas, and diocese of Pamplona.—Yanguas, "Ant. de Nav.," t. III, p. 100.

† The Moorish chroniclers call him Farag Reduan. Conde, p. 4, cap. 21. The King of Aragon, it is said, also courted the friendship of Mohammed, and requested him to make incursions into Andalucia. This the Moorish king, having but just despatched his six hundred genetours to serve Pedro IV's rival, naturally refused to do. The Aragonese monarch, determined to leave no

auxiliary was to march his six hundred Granadine genetours against the kingdom of Valencia. In demanding from the corporation of his good city of Murcia an hospitable reception for his Mohammedan allies, the King of Castile engaged them to unite their militia with the Moorish cavalry, in order to "lay waste the territory of Orihuela, carry on a *cruel war*, and lop off the heads of all the Aragonese who should fall into their hands. "Let my orders be observed," the king added; "those who are guilty of disobedience shall pay for it with their lives." For some time past, this formula had accompanied all the royal mandates.*

Notwithstanding the number and ardour of the Castilian troops, their progress in the north of Aragon was arrested by the strong military line of the Ebro, which to the armies of that age presented an insurmountable obstacle. Don Pedro had resolved to turn his arms against the kingdom of Valencia. He expected to find there a richer country, and to meet with a less obstinate resistance on the part of the inhabitants; moreover, he probably imagined that the ancient rivalry between the Valencians and the Aragonese would render his work of conquest more easy. He marched the mass of his forces resolutely against

stone unturned, next applied, greatly to the scandal of his subjects, to the Moors of Africa, inviting them to come over to his assistance. These likewise declined the alliance, on the plea that Farag Reduan and his companions were already in the service of the King of Castile, and that they could not fight against their countrymen.—Mariana, Lib. XVII, cap. 6.—*T.*

* Cascales, "Hist. de Murcia," p. 107.

the capital, whilst the Murcian militia and the Moors, led by Farax, attacked the southern part of the province. Few cities dared to resist him on his road, and Teruel, Castel-Favib, Segorbe, Murviedro, were successively occupied by his troops; Daroca alone made a gallant defence. The farther the Castilian army advanced towards the south, the more it lost strength, being obliged to leave detachments in all the places which fell into its power. Contemporary warriors have blamed Don Pedro for thus dividing his forces, instead of keeping them united for a decisive blow.

On the 21st of May, 1363, he arrived in sight of Valencia. On examining its defences, he despaired of taking it by assault. His march had been so precipitate, that his engines of war could not follow closely; moreover, it was not prudent to undertake at this time the siege of so well fortified a city, for it was reported that the King of Aragon was approaching with a considerable force. During eight days, the Castilians were skirmishing at the gates of Valencia; and the fertile plain which surrounds it, and which is rightly named its orchard, (La Huerta), was entirely laid waste. From the convent of La Zaydia, where Don Pedro had established his quarters, he beheld crops blazing, vines torn up, trees cut down, hamlets set on fire, and farms demolished.* In this fashion was war carried on in the middle ages.

Don Pedro had some taste for the arts, and Seville still prides herself on the monuments he erected. He

* Ayala, p. 369. Zurita, t. II, p. 319.

carried away from a country-house, formerly the residence of the Kings of Aragon, several antique jasper columns, and had them transported to Seville, to be used in the decoration of the Alcazar, where he was making great improvements.*

The rich and fertile plain of Valencia was already transformed into a desert, when the king quitted it to meet the Aragonese forces. These consisted of three thousand men-at-arms, and were commanded by Pedro IV. in person, who had, besides, the banners of the Conde de Trastamara, the Infante Don Fernando, Don Tello, and Don Sancho under his orders. The Castilian army was then probably inferior in numbers, for instead of offering the enemy battle, Don Pedro made preparations to receive it, and entrenched himself in a strong position at the foot of the ramparts of Murviedro.† The Aragonese king, on his side, was not less

* Zurita, t. II, p. 369. Arch. Gen. de Ara. Reg., 1293, Secr. p. 127.

† Murviedro was the ancient Saguntum. Its siege and capture in 535, A. U. C., by Hannibal, who was then only twenty-eight years of age, is familiar to all readers. "Saguntum," writes the latest historian of Rome, "although not a city of native Spaniards, resisted as obstinately as if the very air of Spain had breathed into foreign settlers on its soil the spirit so often, in many different ages, displayed by the Spanish people. Saguntum was defended like Numantia and Gerona; the siege lasted eight months, and when all hope was gone, several of the chiefs kindled a fire in the market-place, and after having thrown in their most precious effects, leaped into it themselves and perished." Arnold's "Rome," v. III, p. 66. From the heights of Murviedro, which overlook this ancient city, whose fall was so fearfully avenged, Don Pedro had the mortification, in the midst of his

prudent. After having advanced as far as the bridge of Almenara, about two leagues from Murviedro, he halted without attempting to pass the Rio Canales, which separated it from the Castilian outposts. Each party challenged the other, but neither would abandon the advantageous position that he had taken. Several days passed in this manner. The Abbé de Fécamp, to whom the Cardinal Guy de Boulogne on quitting Spain had delegated the powers of the Holy See, profited by the inaction of the two armies to parley with their chiefs. He first addressed the Infante Luis de Navarre, as one who had no interest in the quarrel, and persuaded him to confer with the King of Aragon; he then engaged the latter to make fair and amicable proposals to Don Pedro. The Conde de Denia was charged with the first message, and soon after, Bernal de Cabrera had several interviews with the King of Castile in the castle of Murviedro. It will be remembered that in the preceding year it had been proposed to cement peace by the marriage of Don Pedro with an Aragonese princess, this proposal was now revived, and discussed perhaps more seriously than the first time. The advantages obtained by the Castilian arms in the two last campaigns, and the occupation of a great number of towns in the kingdom of Valencia, obliged the King of Aragon to consent to a cession of territory. The principal care of his envoys was to conceal this humiliation. They proposed that the cities of Tarazona and Calatayud, which were already in the

successes, to see six Aragonese gallies pass before him bearing with them four Castilian vessels, which they had captured near the town of Almeria. Ayala, p. 370.—*T.*

power of the Castilians, should be considered as the dowry of the Infanta Juana, who was to wed Don Pedro. Alicante, Orihuela, and a few castles, as well as that part of the Valencian territory which was contiguous to the kingdom of Murcia, were in like manner to be united to Castile. In return, it was required that Don Pedro should resign Teruel, Segorbe, and his other recent conquests in the kingdom of Valencia, and by a second diplomatic fiction this restitution was to be the dowry of the Infanta Isabel, the third daughter of Don Pedro, whose hand was demanded for the Duque de Gerona, the eldest son of the King of Aragon, and his heir presumptive.* Such were the propositions submitted to Don Pedro, proving but too well his adversary's weakness, unless indeed they were intended to conceal his real purpose, and had no other end than to gain time, and thus arrest the progress of the Castilians.

Don Pedro, as implacable as ever in his resentment, desired above all things to revenge himself upon his former enemies. He required that the King of Aragon should arrest, or put to death, the Conde de Trastamara and the Infante Don Fernando.† To obtain the sacrifice of their lives he would willingly have consented to restore a portion of the territory which he had just conquered. Between two men like Don Pedro and Pedro IV., such an article could hardly have prevented

* Ayala, p. 372. Zurita, t. II. p. 320. According to Ayala, it was the Infanta Beatriz, Don Pedro's eldest daughter, who was to have married the Infante Don Alfonso, Pedro IV's youngest son, then only one year old. This is evidently an error.

† Ayala, p. 372. Zurita, t. II. p. 321.

the ratification of a treaty. It is probable that it was discussed, and if we may believe the chronicler, Ayala, Bernal de Cabrera would have engaged in his master's name to give the requisite satisfaction.* Thus a double murder was to seal the reconciliation of the two sovereigns and precede the union of their children. It was in fact the sole condition which could induce Don Pedro to resign himself to a marriage to which he seems always to have felt an unconquerable repugnance. At this moment especially, being enamoured of a lady named Doña Isabel, by whom he had a son, he was much more disposed to share his crown with her, than with the daughter of his ancient foe.† He already began to treat Doña Isabel as a queen. He desired that, wherever she went, extraordinary honours should be paid her; he even required that bishops should form part of her retinue.‡ Meanwhile the Aragonese and Castilian plenipotentiaries were agreed upon the open clauses of the treaty. They had taken and kissed each other's hand, and finally embraced, according to the ancient custom of Spain.§ The King of Navarre || had

* Ayala, p. 373. Zurita admits the existence of this secret treaty.

† Ayala, p. 373.

‡ Cascales, Hist. de Murcia, p. 137.

§ Zurita, p. 321.

|| The King of Navarre had his private reasons for desiring to bring the Peninsular war to a conclusion. Charles V., with whom he had an ancient feud, had just ascended the French throne, and had availed himself of the opportunity afforded by Carlos' engagements in Spain, to invade his territories in France. Longueville, and the city and castle of Meulan, had been taken by Bertrand Du Guesclin; and Don Felipe, the Infante of Navarre, and brother

become guarantee for the articles subscribed on both sides, and his troops were in occupation of several towns which the two contracting parties had placed in his hand, as pledges for their good faith.* Peace seemed to be ensured, nothing was wanting but the definite approbation of the two monarchs. At this time both were at a distance from Murviedro; the King of Aragon being at Castellon de la Plana, Don Pedro at the castle of Mallon in the kingdom of Valencia.

II.

Notwithstanding the apparent reconciliation effected by the exertions of Pedro IV. between the Conde de Trastamara and the Infante Don Fernando shortly after the battle of Najera, the two princes cherished a mortal hatred for each other, and through their intrigues the court of Aragon was still divided into opposite factions. The self-importance of Don Enrique had much augmented since his return, and especially since the secret treaty of Monzon. He had already publicly assumed the character of pretender to the crown, as well as that of liberator of Castile; he desired to be considered the leader of the exiles, and sole competitor of Don Pedro. Although Pedro IV. did not yet openly treat him as a sovereign, he at least took every opportunity of encouraging his high aspirations and showed him a marked partiality. Don Fernando had pretensions to the crown of Castile much better founded

to Carlos, after sustaining a signal defeat from the Breton captain, sickened and died.—*T.*

* Zurita, p. 321.

than those of Don Enrique, for the legitimacy of the children of Maria de Padilla was still a matter of doubt, and their recognition by the Cortes of Seville and Bubierca was of no greater value than any other act dictated by fear. If Don Pedro died young, there was every reason to expect that the nation would not long hesitate between a child incapable of governing, and a warlike prince whose title was in the eyes of many of the people the only legitimate one. Around Don Fernando were grouped the more influential of the emigrant Ricos Hombres of Castile. As possessor of large domains in Aragon, and with a small army, and a numerous party at his command, the Infante was too powerful not to give umbrage to a despot so distrustful and jealous of his authority as Pedro IV. Never had the King of Aragon viewed his brother in any other light than that of a rival and an enemy; and the idea that this prince, now his vassal, might one day become a sovereign more powerful, was wormwood to him. In the Conde de Trastamara, on the contrary, he found that gentleness and pliability which is so pleasing to despots. Besides, whatever price an exile may pay for the protection he needs, he must still receive it as a favour. Hence that preference which was given to the Conde de Trastamara, and those extraordinary engagements which were fearlessly contracted with an adventurer.

When the unforeseen aggression of the Castilians obliged Pedro IV. to seek everywhere for soldiers, the Infante and several Ricos Hombres vehemently opposed the admission of the Free Company commanded by Don Enrique. "Why purchase a foreigner's service at

so dear a rate," they argued, "whilst our own troops are so poorly recompensed? Our soldiers in vain demand their pay; everything is granted to those of the bastard of Castile." These representations were fruitless, Don Enrique reappeared in Aragon, and the king forbade any one but the Conde to recruit in France.* It was evident that this order tended to diminish the forces and the importance of Don Fernando; nevertheless, in despite of the king, a large number of adventurers, the majority Castilian emigrants, after having crossed the mountains with the Conde de Trastamara, quitted that prince to range themselves under the banner of the Infante of Aragon, whom they considered their natural lord. It was rather remarkable that the first to set an example of desertion were the brothers of Don Enrique, Don Tello and Don Sancho. The King of Aragon was greatly offended, but in the midst of a disastrous war, and pressed hard by such an enemy as Don Pedro, prudence obliged him to dissemble his resentment. He betrayed his sentiments however by continual opposition to his brother, whom he systematically endeavoured to humble, whilst he affected the most flattering deference for Don Enrique.†

* Zurita, t. II. p. 321.

† The conduct of Pedro IV. with respect to the Infante was nothing new. In 1358, when Don Fernando re-entered his service, he had promised him a pension of 150,000 Barcelonese pence; it was always, however, very irregularly paid. The Infante's claims becoming very pressing, the king in 1361 sent him a cheque upon his treasurer, but at the same time secretly directed that officer not to pay any attention to it. This circumstance paints the character of Pedro IV. Arch. gen. de Arag. Letter

The Infante, indignant at seeing the troops of the bastards always well paid whilst his own were in want of the necessaries of life, was not sparing of complaints, nor even of threats. At Zaragoza, weary of uselessly claiming the pay due to his troops, he entered by main force into the house of the king's treasurer, broke open the coffers with an axe, and distributed the contents among his soldiers.* This daring act was perpetrated at the very time Don Pedro was threatening Valencia, and the town would have incurred the risk of being taken, if the reinforcements which the Infante was bringing had not enabled the Aragonese army to come forward and force Don Pedro to raise the siege. The deed was undoubtedly justified by the pressing emergency, by the absolute necessity of satisfying the soldiers, and retaining them under the Aragonese flag when their services were so much needed; Pedro IV., however, forgot that he probably owed to this violence the preservation of the second city in his kingdom. In his eyes it was a barefaced robbery, and worse still, an act of authority; he never forgave it. The excessive enmity between the two brothers was skilfully nursed by the Conde de Trastamara, who strove daily to increase it still more. Having resolved to drive the Infante to extremities, and being well acquainted with his violent and impetuous character, he led the king to adopt such measures as should increase his irritation to the utmost degree. For the execution of this design, Enrique found a powerful auxiliary in one of his own enemies, Bernal de

of the King of Aragon, Barcelona, 23rd Dec. 1361, register 1293 Secretorum, p. 107.

* Zurita, t. II. p. 323.

Cabrera, and, without acting in concert, the two laboured with equal ardour at the destruction of Don Fernando.* Cabrera pursued both the Infante and the Conde de Trastamara with like hatred, not only as being the two men who disputed his authority, once all-powerful in Aragon, but still more as the declared opponents of his policy. He had always counselled his master to make peace with Castile, and not to expose his kingdom to the greatest misfortunes, merely to forward the interests of a few turbulent foreigners. He was accused of having been gained over by Don Pedro, but there are no grounds for this imputation, neither is it needed in order to explain his conduct. As representative of the Aragonese party at the court of Pedro IV., he was necessarily the declared enemy of the party of the Castilian emigrants.

As soon as the preliminaries of the treaty concluded at Murviedro were known, the Infante, who had lately used his utmost efforts to oppose any compromise with the King of Castile, haughtily announced that, his services having become needless to his country, he was about to quit it, and pass into France, where he should offer his sword to the regent, feeling assured that by that prince, the brave men under his command would be treated according to their merits. His troop, or, as it was then called, his company, consisting of about a thousand lances, was composed of Castilian emigrants and his Aragonese vassals, all old soldiers and devoted to his fortunes. Pedro IV expressed the greatest surprise at hearing this announcement, and sent word that he begged his brother would remain in his service,

* Feliù, An. de Cataluña, p. 277.

promising to give him entire satisfaction for the future. At this period the Aragonese army was divided into two camps, each watching the other as though it had been a hostile force. On one side, the Infante occupied Almanzora with his men-at-arms; on the other, the king held his quarters at Castellon de la Plana with his household troops and the company of the Conde de Trastamara. After several conferences, Don Fernando appeared to give way to the representations of the king's envoys, and the prayers which were addressed to him by a great number of Aragonese Ricos Hombres, of whose affection for his person he was well assured. He consented to remain in Aragon, and agreed to an interview that was proposed to be held at Castellon, in order that he might hear from his brother's lips a confirmation of the treaty which would attach him ever afterwards to his service. Pedro IV. received him with open arms, and entreated him to stay and dine with some Aragonese and Castilian lords. This was on the 10th of July, the season when the most intense heat prevails. After the repast, the Infante retired into the lower hall, there to take his siesta, according to the Spanish custom. It was unusual then for a noble to be separated from his attendants, who formed a kind of body-guard, a regulation dictated as much by prudence as by feudal ostentation. Don Fernando took his siesta in the presence of four of his cavalleros, two of them Castilians, two Aragonese. One of the Castilians was Diego Perez Sarmiento, formerly in high favour with Don Pedro, and who, as we have seen, passed into Aragon shortly after the battle of Araviana. Suddenly an alguazil of the court presents himself at the door of the hall,

awakes the Infante, and informs him in the king's name that he is his prisoner. "Prisoner!" cries Don Fernando, leaping from his couch, "who dares arrest men of my rank?"* And he draws his sword. "Better to die sword in hand than surrender!" exclaims Perez Sarmiento in his turn. The alguazil fled. They immediately barricade the apartment with the furniture, and prepare to sell their lives dearly. Hardly had the first cry of alarm reached the king's chamber, than the Conde de Trastamara appeared at the head of a numerous troop, and armed at all points, a precaution which sufficiently proved that the probable cause of the tumult was well known to him. Whilst some are endeavouring to break open the doors of the lower hall, others bore holes in the ceiling that they may fire upon the five devoted victims through the apertures. In this extremity the Infante, impelled by the courage of despair, opens the door, and, sword in hand, throws himself upon his assailants, followed by the two Castilian exiles. The two Aragonese knights,

* "E dixo al Alguacil que non era él ome para ser preso." And, continues Ayala, the alguazil returned to the king, and reported the answer of the Infante, and by Pedro IV's command, the alguazil went back to him with a message, that no dishonour was attached to being arrested. Then spake Sarmiento, who knew from bitter experience the little trust that might be placed in princes, and who perhaps at that moment recalled the death of Don Fadrique, which had been planned in his presence, "Señor, mas vos vale morir que ser presos," and, adds the chronicler, immediately the Infante drew his sword. Ayala, p. 376. The Abreviada copy, which M. Merimée follows, omits all mention of the alguazil's return to the King of Aragon, that monarch's answer, and the recommendation of Sarmiento.—*T.*

either through cowardice or treachery, leaped out of the window, and succeeded in saving their lives. On perceiving Don Enrique, the Infante sprang upon him like a madman, and at the first blow stretched dead at his feet an esquire of the Conde, who had placed himself in front of his master. With no other arms than their swords, Don Fernando and his two companions, nerved by despair, for a moment made the crowd retreat before them; but what could courage effect before a number of men encased in steel? The Infante received his first thrust from Pero Carrillo, the Conde de Trastamara's major domo, and died covered with wounds. Sarmiento and his companion made no further resistance, and fell dead upon their master's body.*

On the intelligence of this murder, which soon reached the camp at Almanzora, Don Tello and Don Sancho, imagining that the King of Aragon reserved the same fate for them, called their comrades to arms, unfurled the Infante's banner, and placed themselves with all their company in order of battle at the entrance to the town. They soon witnessed the arrival of Don Enrique and his Castilians, reinforced by several Aragonese bands. Both armies raised their war cry; lances were lowered, and they were preparing to charge, when a

* Ayala, p. 374. Zurita, t. II. p. 322. Carbonell, p. 190. and following.

The Castilian Rico Hombre who fell with Perez Sarmiento at his master's side was Don Luis Manuel, a grandson of the author of "El Conde Lucanor." The two Aragonese cavalleros, who preferred their life to their honour, were Don Juan Ximenes de Urrea, and DonGombal de Tramacet.—*T.*

herald, dressed in his tabard, on which were embroidered the arms of Aragon, advanced between the rival troops, and in the king's name declared that the exiles had nothing to fear whilst they remained true to their duty, and that the king did not believe them to be accomplices in the treason for which their chief had just suffered punishment. Meanwhile, the Conde, taking off his helmet, called to the principal cavalleros in the Infante's service, and implored them not to expose themselves to certain death by refusing to obey the orders of the King of Aragon. Henceforth, now that Don Fernando was dead, his soldiers had only to choose between two alternatives, either to quit Spain or to serve faithfully the prince who had received them into his states. He hastened to add that they might freely make their election, but at the same time he spared neither promises nor flattery, nor indeed anything which might seduce these already disheartened men. The greater part of them, accustomed to a life of adventure, had no other means of subsistence than their lance and horse. Don Enrique dazzled their eyes with the display of the King of Aragon's gold, and assured them that in future they should receive their pay punctually. Nearly all consented to be enrolled in his company. Now that the Infante was dead, the Conde de Trastamara held the first place in the estimation of the Castilian emigrants, and became as it were the legitimate successor of the chief whom he had just murdered. Don Tello and Don Sancho, seeing themselves deserted, followed the example of the rest, and thus Don Enrique, without opposition, incorporated the

exiles of Almanzora with his own troops.* A few Aragonese, less confiding than the emigrants in their master's promises of an amnesty, immediately quitted his court. The Vizconde de Cardona fled from Castellon with all his vassals, and did not consider himself in safety until he reached his feudal manor.†

III.

The death of Don Fernando might seem to have rendered the ratification of peace more easy. It had been agreed between the Castilian and Aragonese plenipotentiaries, and the King of Navarre, who had accepted the office of arbiter, that the execution of the principal clause in the treaty, that is to say, the cession of the places reciprocally agreed to be surrendered, should take place on the 20th of August. On the 4th of the same month, a meeting was held at Tudela, in Navarre, to settle the final arrangements. The Castilians, however, when there, raised fresh objections, and tried to adjourn the surrender of those places which were to be restored

* Ayala, p. 374, and following. Zurita, t. II, 322. Carbonell, p. 190.

† Zurita, p. 322. Carbonell, p. 190. There was reason why this noble should not trust to Don Enrique's honour, he had but too recently witnessed an instance of the Conde's bad faith, indeed had been the involuntary instrument of the Infante's destruction. He had, conjointly with the Conde de Urgel, been selected to bear the royal invitation to the Infante; Pedro IV., Enrique of Trastamara and Bernal de Cabrera, all masters in statecraft, rightly imagining that Don Fernando would not apprehend treachery when his return was urged by two of his most attached followers. Ayala, p. 375.—*T.*

to the King of Aragon. There was reason to fear that secret instructions had been given to break off the treaty. The Castilian army, instead of dispersing, received fresh reinforcements daily; on the whole frontier of Castile nothing was seen but preparations for war; lastly, at Seville, whither Don Pedro had repaired during the conferences at Tudela, a formidable fleet was equipping, which was further reinforced by ten gallies, sent by the King of Portugal. Every thing denoted that Don Pedro was collecting his forces for a fresh campaign, and the King of Aragon, in the present unfavourable state of his affairs, could not hope that it would prove for him more fortunate than the preceding, unless indeed he could succeed in dividing his opponents.

It has been seen that the King of Navarre had only been constrained to take part in the last war by a kind of surprise. He had equal reason with the King of Aragon to fear the ambition of Don Pedro, and his interest was evidently to oppose the aggrandizement of so dangerous a neighbour. The character of the King of Navarre, compounded as it was of timidity, avarice, and treachery, is summed up in the surname of Carlos the Bad, which was given him by his contemporaries, and has been confirmed by posterity. A petty prince at that period could only maintain his position by cunning and duplicity; he thus acquired a reputation for policy.

The King of Aragon now thought of purchasing, if not the alliance, at least the neutrality of Carlos, and from this time there commenced a series of obscure intrigues, in which Pedro IV., Carlos, and the Conde de Trastamara, emulated each other in chicanery, dis-

trust, and bad faith. According to Zurita, who, in his account of these negociations, appears to have consulted documents which are now lost,* a secret interview was, at the instigation of Don Enrique, proposed by Pedro IV. to the King of Navarre. If Don Enrique really gave this advice, the Aragonese monarch would seem at first only to have attended to his own interests. The two kings met on the 25th of August, with much mystery, in the Castle of Uncastillo, on the confines of their dominions. Carlos, struggling between his cupidity and his fears of Don Pedro, consented, after much hesitation, to a secret alliance, on condition that he should be paid liberally. I am now following the conscientious annalist of Aragon, who unfortunately has neglected to cite his authorities in his account of the principal articles of the compact concluded between the two royal tricksters. First of all, a considerable sum of money was to be counted out to the Navarrese sovereign, within four months; the payment was guaranteed by the surrender of several important places, for what confidence could be attached to promises, without pledges for their due performance? The King of Aragon further engaged to grant him subsidies, to enable him to pay his troops, even in the event of their not being immediately employed against Castile. Lastly, it was stipulated that if Carlos by any means should succeed in effecting the

* Zurita, t. II, p. 324. I was unable to discover any trace of these negociations in the Archives of Barcelona, but Zurita is ordinarily so exact that I do not doubt but that he had precise information at his command.

death of Don Pedro, or in delivering him up to the King of Aragon, the latter would pay the sum of 200,000 florins, and surrender the town and territory of Jaca, as the price of his enemy's head.*

We have already seen that in all diplomatic transactions, the princes of this age sought to bind political ties still closer by marriages. Pedro IV. demanded the hand of a sister of the King of Navarre for his son, the Duque de Gerona, who had been lately betrothed by the treaty of Murviedro to the daughter of Don Pedro. In the event of aggression on the part of France, Aragon was to join with Navarre in defending her possessions on either side of the mountains. In short, Carlos obtained from the King of Aragon the same advantages which he had found in his alliance with Castile, besides subsidies, which in his eyes were of far greater value than a doubtful and uncertain protection. On these conditions, he engaged to declare against Don Pedro, preserving, however, the right of selecting the most favourable moment—in other terms, that in which he should incur least danger.†

I must not forget the minute and very extraordinary precautions taken by the two kings to ensure the exact fulfilment of all these agreements. They shew the point of refinement at which policy had arrived in the fourteenth century. It may be well imagined that men who were acquainted with each other's repeated perjuries, would not rest satisfied with oaths, though pronounced before the altar. They required real and

* Zurita, t. II, p. 324.

† Ibid., t. II, p. 324.

solid pledges as a security against each other's bad faith. It was first stipulated that the places offered by Pedro IV. as guarantees for the promised subsidies should be delivered into the possession of Pedro Alamar, an Aragonese knight, nominated by the King of Navarre, and that this cavallero should first denaturalize himself, that is to say, should recognize Carlos as his lord, and do him homage as such. This renunciation of country was requisite in order to exonerate the governor of a place from the obedience due to his natural lord. The Navarrese monarch further required that Bernal de Cabrera, whom he mistrusted, should subscribe the treaty, and himself guarantee its loyal execution; in short, that for this purpose he should become his liege-man, and reside in his dominions. In thus multiplying securities, the two kings showed the little confidence they placed in each other's oaths, and moreover, openly avowed that the honour of their knights was more to be trusted than their own. One important and difficult point was to conceal all these transactions from Don Pedro, at least for a short time. The surrender of towns and castles, and the exchange of hostages, were sooner than anything likely to betray them. Pedro IV. readily consented to deliver up his minister, but he demanded in return the person of the Infante Luis de Navarre. It was settled that the prince should allow himself to be surprised by Don Enrique, who, having made him prisoner, should detain him as such, on the part of the King of Aragon.*

* Zurita, t. II, p. 324.

The two kings were thus agreed; but on communicating their plans to Bernal de Cabrera, who was necessary to the carrying out of the treaty, they met with the most obstinate resistance. The crafty minister had not much difficulty in discerning the hand of the Conde de Trastamara in all these intrigues. He was aware that Don Enrique only wished to remove him from the Aragonese court, in order to obtain unlimited influence, and perhaps effect his destruction. He refused for a long time to swear allegiance to King Carlos. At last, however, overcome by the promises and assurances of Pedro IV., he yielded, though with reluctance, and took the oath of homage to the King of Navarre, stipulating, however, that nothing should be required of him contrary to the interests of the King of Aragon, or of the Duque de Gerona, his son. As to trusting his person in the hands of Carlos, his new suzerain, he was too prudent to consent to such a proposal, and constantly found some fresh pretext for remaining in Aragon.

The treaty of Uncastillo was signed by the kings, and by a certain number of Ricos Hombres. It was also signed by the Conde de Trastamara; but certain articles were kept secret from this prince. Pedro IV., although despoiled of a part of his dominions, had not renounced the hope of making conquests in Castile, and had already parcelled out that kingdom between himself and his new ally. He had stipulated conjointly with Carlos, that if they succeeded in driving Don Pedro from his dominions, the kingdoms of Murcia and Toledo should be united to Aragon, and

that Carlos should have for his share of the spoil Old Castile and Alava, provinces which at a very remote period had formed part of the crown of Navarre. Each guaranteed to the other this augmentation of territory against Don Enrique, in case he should endeavour to oppose it.* This was the third time that Pédro IV. had in imagination partitioned Castile, first with Don Fernando, then with Don Enrique, now with the King of Navarre, and still without possessing one inch of its soil. This presumption appears

* Zurita, t. II, p. 324. According to Ayala, p. 379, the interview between the two kings must have taken place at Sos, (*vide* further on), and not at Uncastillo. He relates that the allied sovereigns, after having signed the treaty, the principal articles of which we have already stated, wished to seal it by the assassination of Don Enrique, but the Castellan of Sos refusing to be a party to this act of treachery, their plan failed. Such is Ayala's version, but in my opinion, it is altogether improbable. At that period Don Enrique evidently enjoyed the highest favour with the King of Aragon. He had just brought about the murder of the Infante Don Fernando, which undoubtedly was not a very arduous task; but, which was more difficult, he was beginning to supplant Cabrera, the indefatigable adviser of peace with Castile, and had ruined that minister in the esteem of Pedro IV. How can we admit that at the very time he had thus proved his influence with the King of Aragon, that prince should have compassed his destruction? If such a design had really been conceived, its only possible motive must have been the desire of obtaining peace with Castile. Now what was the object of the alliance between the kings of Aragon and Navarre, if not to pursue the war vigorously? Ayala probably repeats the rumours afloat amongst the Castilian emigrants, who, since the Infante's death, were ever expecting some fresh treachery from Pedro IV. Compare Ayala, p. 379 and following.—Zurita, t. II. p. 324.

remarkable in so prudent a prince, whose ambition, however ardent, was not so blind as to induce him to follow a chimera. Was it not, on the contrary, a proof of his foresight and judgment? Whilst Don Pedro was spreading the terror of his name far and wide, a violent tempest was gathering behind him. It was no longer an insignificant portion of his nobility, thirsting to recover their privileges; it was the whole Castilian nation, who weary of despotism, were extending their arms to his rival as to a liberator. Pedro IV. perfectly understood the situation of his enemy, and did not despair of the attainment of his own designs.

Shortly afterwards, the Infante Luis de Navarre, while riding with a scanty retinue on the Aragonese frontier, fell into an ambuscade, and was taken prisoner by the Conde de Denia, an Aragonese knight, son of the Infante Don Pedro of Aragon, and brother-in-arms of the Conde de Trastamara. On hearing of the prince's capture, the Castilian captains cried treachery, and ran to arms. They demanded that the fortress of Castel Favib should be given up to them, a castle which, conformably with the treaty of Murviedro, had been placed as a pledge in the hands of a Navarrese governor, who occupied it in the name of his master, who was the arbiter and guarantee of the treaty. Whether the Castilians were not duped by the pretended surprise of the Infante Don Luis, or whether accustomed by their ruler's example to keep terms with no one, they suspected the governor of having secret intelligence with the Aragonese monarch, because he refused to open his gates to them; they accordingly invested

the castle, and put all the Navarrese garrison, and the Aragonese who defended it, to the edge of the sword.*

Hostilities re-commenced on all sides. Don Pedro, quitting Seville at the first report of war, rushed to the Murcian frontier, and finding his troops already assembled, entered the kingdom of Valencia; in a few days, he took Elche, Alicante,† and several other places which had formerly made part of the apanage of the Infante Don Fernando. He burst forth into loud complaints of the bad faith of his enemies, and swore to exact a terrible revenge. Appearances were in his favour, and this time he seemed to have received real and unjustifiable provocation. Either he was still unacquainted with the new engagements of the King of Navarre, or he despised that prince too much to fear him, for he turned all his efforts towards the south, and announced his intention of marching upon Valencia so soon as his fleet should be in a condition to make a powerful diversion upon that side.‡

This sudden invasion, and the rapid progress of the Castilians, whilst augmenting the fears of the King of Aragon, powerfully served the ambitious projects of Don Enrique. The more pressing the danger, the more he felt his personal importance increase. He

* Zurita. t. II, p. 325.

† "There is," writes Mr. Ford, "but one Elche in Europe; it is a City of Palms, the Bedouin alone is wanting, for the climate is that of the East." Speaking of Alicante, the same writer says: "Here the succession of crops never ceases. There is no winter; one continual summer reigns in this Paradise of Ceres and Pomona."

‡ Ayala, p. 380. Zurita, t. II, p. 325.

was already the commander of a numerous army, and acknowledged by the emigrants as pretender to the crown of Castile; he now required the King of Aragon publicly to recognise his claims. It appears that a deep despondency had at that time taken possession of the Castilian exiles. Many of them, either distrusting their eventual success, or regretting the death of the Infante, their ancient chief, talked of passing into France, to take military service, and lead the life of Free Companions in a country where so many foreigners had found good fortune. Don Enrique encouraged this inclination, and boasted publicly of the favour he enjoyed at the Court of France, and the magnificent offers he had in consequence received. To announce his intention of crossing the Pyrenees was a sure means of obliging the King of Aragon to purchase his services at a dearer rate, now that the enemy of Pedro IV. was advancing into the heart of his kingdom.

On the 10th of October, 1363, a new treaty was signed at Benifar, between the King of Aragon and Don Enrique, its object being to confirm and explain the brief convention of Monzon. It was necessary to determine exactly the limits of the sixth part of Castile to be ceded by the pretender. Don Enrique engaged to surrender to Pedro IV. the kingdom of Murcia, and ten important towns in the Two Castiles,* as an indemnification for the great expenses the con-

* Requena, Moya, Otiel, Canyet, Cuenca, Molina, Medina Celi Almazan, Soria, Agreda. It will be remarked that in the treaty of Uncastillo, Pedro IV. reserved to himself the whole of the kingdom of Toledo.

quest would occasion. On his side the king promised to lead personally an Aragonese army to second the invasion. Having been informed that Don Enrique was secretly in treaty with the King of Navarre, for each of the three allies had his private intrigues, he feared that Carlos would outbid him. He stipulated that whatever part the Navarrese might take in the conquest of Castile, the share of the King of Aragon should be three times more considerable. It is worthy of remark that this important treaty was, contrary to custom, signed by only two witnesses, both simple knights and men-at-arms of the King of Aragon.* The treaty of Monzon was written by the two princes' own hands, and this time recourse was again had to mystery. The Conde de Trastamara had no scruples in entering into these treaties, but he was careful in exacting guarantees to ensure the performance of the several articles. He required hostages, and, in so important a matter, ordinary hostages were not sufficient. At first he requested that the king's son, the Infante Don Alfonso, should be placed in the hands of some third party, whom he should nominate, and be detained in a strong fortress. Then he fixed upon the sons of the principal counsellors of Pedro IV., for children were preferred by skilful negociators as more easy to guard than men. He especially insisted that the grandson of Cabrera, his enemy, should be given up to him, that he might have some security against the bad faith of that minister, whom he suspected, and not unreasonably, of wishing to purchase peace with Castile at his expense.

* Arch. Gen. de Arag. Benifar, 10th of October, 1363. Register, 1543, Varia, p. 66, and following. *See* Appendix H.

The King of Aragon promised his own son, and obtained the consent and signature of his ministers, and that of Cabrera, himself, according to all appearance, without communicating to them the clauses of the treaty which their children were to guarantee.* Still it was not sufficient to have verbal, or even written promises, the hostages must be actually given, and the king's counsellors, Cabrera especially, testified so much repugnance in separating from their children, that it was quite evident that their compliance had been wrested from them, either in a moment of surprise or constraint.† Meanwhile Don Enrique, the tranquil spectator of Don Pedro's progress, busied himself in procuring provisions and comfortable quarters for his company. He knew that the period was fast approaching when his troops must undergo the greatest privations.

IV.

The King of Navarre, on the other hand, displayed no such wonderful alacrity to serve his new ally, who, in the present state of his finances, could not furnish the promised subsidies. However, in his character of arbiter, chosen to enforce the performance of the treaty

* Arch. Gen. de Ara. Convention for the exchange of hostages, Benifar, 6th of October. "Indice Alfabetrio del Rey Don Pedro, IV.," No. 528. Ratification of the preceding treaty. Benifar, 10th of Oct., 1363. Indice, No. 524. It will be observed that the engagements between the King and the Conde are not set forth in these two last papers. The first is signed by all the lords whose sons are to serve as hostages, whilst the treaty of alliance and partition is only signed by two obscure witnesses.

† Feliù, "An. de Cataluña," II, 275.

of Murviedo, he declared against Don Pedro, although determined not to make war upon him, but simply to observe a strict neutrality. This was much, but Pedro IV. desired to obtain more. He requested a second interview with Carlos, and it was agreed that Don Enrique, who now commanded so considerable a number of soldiers that princes might treat with him as with an independent power, should also be present. Nothing paints more vividly the atrocious morals and habits of the fourteenth century than these continually renewed contracts, these oaths so shamelessly lavished, and, above all, the distrust testified on all occasions by these very princes who had just sworn eternal friendship, with their hands upon the Gospels. The castle of Sos, on the frontier of Navarre, was chosen for the conference. Before repairing thither, Don Enrique desired that the command of that fortress should be given to an Aragonese lord whom he named, fixed the number of men who should compose the garrison, and the retinue which each king should bring with him. When he himself entered Sos, he left eight hundred men-at-arms of his company before the trenches. The conditions of an alliance between the two kings were now again debated, and afterwards those of a private treaty with the Conde de Trastamara. In the absence of present funds, Pedro IV. promised to deliver up to the Navarrese prince, several towns of his kingdom, as security for the subsidies, the payment of which, in consequence of the low state of his finances, he was obliged to postpone. The three confederates then proceeded to the partition of Castile, modified the treaty of Benifar, and promised

Carlos additional advantages. He was to have Old Castile and Biscay, and a few towns in New Castile, amongst others Soria and Agreda, lately ceded to the King of Aragon. The share of the last mentioned prince was to comprise the kingdoms of Murcia and Toledo. Don Enrique gave as hostages his daughter, Doña Leonor, Don Alonso Enriquez, his natural son, and the children of several emigrants. The King of Navarre delivered up the Infante Don Martin, his son, and several young children belonging to the first families of his kingdom. The Conde de Trastamara furthermore required that all the Navarrese nobles should take oath upon the sacrament to accompany him on his expedition to Castile, and to serve him faithfully, under penalty of being declared traitors and forsworn.*

Notwithstanding these repeated oaths, these many and minute precautions, the treaty of Sos had the same fate as the innumerable conventions that had preceded it. The King of Aragon did not furnish the promised subsidies, and the King of Navarre continued to observe strict neutrality. Don Enrique alone was a gainer by these negociations, in which he was treated as a sovereign. The concessions required cost him but little, for he gave what he did not yet possess. In return, he obtained from the King of Aragon the sacrifice of the only man likely to interfere with his ambitious schemes.

* I follow Zurita in my account of the treaty of Sos, of which I have not been able to find any trace in the archives of Aragon. According to this chronicler, generally most exact, the treaty must have taken place the 2nd of March, 1364. Zurita, t. II, p. 327, and following.

The destruction of Bernal de Cabrera was resolved on at Sos, and was shortly afterwards accomplished.

The minister's refusal to deliver up his grandson as a hostage, however adroitly dissembled, was not the first sign that he had given of his opposition to the aggrandizement of the Conde de Trastamara. He had never ceased advising the king to withdraw his protection from Don Enrique, and to make peace with Castile in real earnest. Even at this moment Cabrera believed it yet possible. Despots generally regard with pleasure the rivalries of their vassals: the jealousy and hatred of their courtiers sometimes enable them to hear the truth. Although following the counsels of Don Enrique, Pedro IV. might perhaps have continued to retain the services of his minister, had not the hatred of the Conde been powerfully seconded by the King of Navarre, the Queen of Aragon, and a great part of Pedro IV.'s subjects. The Catalans especially, who had for a long time been irritated at Cabrera's partial and tyrannical administration, refused to grant the king his subsidies, unless he sacrificed the minister whom they detested.* Cabrera stood alone, with no other support than that of an ungrateful and heartless master, and feeling his credit daily diminishing, he had several times expressed a desire to relinquish the direction of affairs. He announced his intention of resigning all his offices, and ending his days in retirement. Perhaps he was not sincere in thus offering to leave the field open to his enemies. At that period such a renuncia-

* Zurita, II, p. 335.

tion was generally only the prelude to an open revolt, and the kings of the fourteenth century seldom dismissed a minister from their counsels but for the purpose of sending him to the scaffold. Pedro IV. refused to accept Cabrera's resignation. He assured his minister again and again of his undiminished confidence. By dint of promises and flattery, he succeeded in overcoming his suspicions, and induced Cabrera to accompany him to the Castle of Almudover, whither he had repaired with Don Enrique and the King of Navarre a short time after the conferences of Sos. It is strange that the old politician, who had so lately entrapped the Infante Don Fernando in a similar snare, should not perceive his own peril until he found himself in the hands of his enemies. Hardly had he arrived at the Castle of Almudover, than the King of Navarre and Don Enrique came to demand of the King of Aragon an explanation of a report, spread, as they affirmed, throughout the whole army. They had just been warned, they said, that both of them were to be assassinated by his orders.*

In that age, a rumour of this description had nothing improbable in it; Pedro IV. himself informs us of this accusation, which was concerted to all appearance amongst the enemies of Cabrera. The king exculpated himself, and desired to know the originators of the calumny. Both immediately named his minister. Cabrera, forewarned of the plot, had already taken flight. Nothing more was necessary to enable them

* Carbonell, p. 191.

to declare him guilty of unproven and most absurd crimes.* After a hasty pursuit, he was soon arrested, and placed in the hands of his new suzerain, the King of Navarre, who, after keeping him some time prisoner in a dungeon, ashamed perhaps of acting the part of executioner, delivered him up to Pedro IV., his natural lord. After a mock trial, Bernal de Cabrera was beheaded.† His son, the Conde de Osuna, who had been a prisoner in Castile ever since the siege of Calatayud, obtained from Don Pedro the favour of being ransomed. Shortly afterwards, he entered the Castilian service, and having denaturalized himself, accepted the command of one of the gallies sent to cruize on the Aragonese coasts.‡

The Conde de Trastamara could induce kings to destroy his political opponents; he reserved for himself the task of avenging his private injuries. In his little court, Pero Carrillo held the first rank among the Castilian nobles attached to his fortunes. He was Don Enrique's major-domo. Since his flight from Seville in 1350, Carrillo had never quitted the Conde. It was to him that the Condessa de Trastamara owed her deliverance; it was he who had struck the first blow at the Infante of Aragon. Amongst the continual intrigues

* He was even accused of having induced Admiral Frances Perellos to insult the King of Castile in the port of San Lucar, and of having thus provoked the very war against which he had never ceased protesting. Zurita, II, p. 335 verso.

† Zurita, Lib. IX, Cap. LII et LVII. Pedro's conduct is rendered still more hateful by the fact that Cabrera had been his tutor.—*T.*

‡ Zurita, Lib. II, p. 338, 340.

and dissensions which divided the emigrants into hostile factions, his fidelity had never swerved. It is difficult to account for a devotion so rare at that period ; it has, however, been very generally attributed to the passion with which Doña Juana, sister of Don Enrique, had inspired Pero Carrillo. I have related how that lady, having been married to Don Fernando de Castro, left him shortly after, and went to live in Aragon, with her brother. Her marriage had been broken off on account of its being within the prohibited degrees, and Don Fernando had vowed mortal hatred to Don Enrique, accusing him of having seized this pretext to dissolve an union which he had at first favoured. In Aragon, Doña Juana distinguished Carrillo, and seemed to receive his attentions with pleasure. The pride of the bastard was offended that a simple knight should forget the respect due to the blood of kings. A Spanish proverb says, that " a secret injury requires a secret revenge." Whilst on a hawking expedition, Don Enrique drew Carrillo into a retired spot, and killed him with a javelin. An assassination like this was allowed by the customs of the age ; it might even pass for an honourable action. A brother was his sister's guardian ; his power over her was absolute, and it behoved him to be the jealous protector of her honour. Thus Ayala, usually so careful in excusing the crimes of the prince to whom he owed his good fortune, relates this murder without any comment ; doubtless accounting it fully justified by the laws of chivalry.*

* Ayala, p. 301.

CHAPTER VI.

WAR IN THE KINGDOM OF VALENCIA.
1364 TO 1365.

I.

WHILST the King of Aragon and the Conde de Trastamara pursued their crafty and perfidious schemes, whilst they were assassinating their most faithful servants, Don Pedro was laying waste with impunity the kingdom of Valencia, and had just commenced besieging the capital. Having taken possession of the towns in the neighbourhood,* he established his quarters at El Grao, a small port half a league from Valencia, where he could cut off the besieged from all access to the sea, and ensure his own communication with his fleet, which was momentarily expected. Valencia had a numerous garrison and a faithful and courageous governor; it was, however, ill-provisioned, for the invasion of the Castilians had destroyed the preceding year's harvest, and filled the city with nearly the entire country population. After a few days' blockade, the supply of bread failed. The inhabitants had now nothing remaining but rice, and of that only a small

* Alicante, Muela, Calloso, Denia, Gandia and Oliva.—*T.*

quantity. If the assistance so urgently and repeatedly demanded of the King of Aragon were delayed for a few weeks, Valencia was lost. Don Pedro, who was not ignorant of the distress of the besieged, contented himself with waylaying all convoys of provisions, and remaining quiescent in his camp until famine should decide in his favour. His quarters were carefully fortified; no enemy dared enter the neighbourhood, and he had only to repel an occasional and ineffectual sortie. Lulled by this delusive security, he did not in the least suspect that an Aragonese army was advancing on the right bank of the Ebro.

After having lost a considerable time in negociations with the King of Navarre, Pedro IV., at length remembering the alarming condition of Valencia, had, by dint of entreaties, persuaded Don Enrique to unite his troops with the Aragonese army. Then, believing himself in a position to offer battle, he advanced towards Valencia by forced marches, whilst his fleet, laden with provisions of all kinds, followed his movements along the coast. He had been informed of the position of the Castilians, and hoped to fall unexpectedly upon them, and by attacking them unawares, to obtain an easy victory. His army, composed of about three thousand men-at-arms* and seven or eight thousand foot soldiers, was rapidly advancing, coasting along the river, away from the frequented roads, and although still at some distance from the enemy, the king had

* Ayala, p. 382. Carbonell, p. 191, gives the King of Aragon one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two men-at-arms. He probably only counts the Aragonese, and not Don Enrique's Castilian auxiliaries.

given orders, the better to mask his approach, that no fires should be lighted during the night.

Probably Don Pedro would have remained in his fancied security until the last moment, had he not received from a traitor an intimation of his imminent danger. Don Tello had never ceased to maintain a secret correspondence with him, either because, doubtful of success, he wished in any case to secure the means of recovering favour; or that, jealous of Don Enrique, he sacrificed his own interests to the hatred which he bore to that brother, whose higher position was insupportable to him. We may remember, that at the period of Don Enrique's expedition into Castile, he had already meditated a defection, which was discovered and overthrown by the vigilance of the Conde de Trastamara. This time he was guilty of a greater act of treachery, by sending one of his esquires to warn Don Pedro of the approach and designs of the Aragonese army.* Vast volumes of smoke soon ascended from the towers of Murviedro, and the signal of alarm given by the Castilian advanced posts quickly confirmed the report of the esquire; while at the same time, other fires, lighted upon the mountains, announced to the inhabitants of Valencia the arrival of their liberators.† Don Pedro did not lose a moment. At the approach of night, he collected all his troops, raised his camp, and on the morrow was at Murviedro, occupying an advantageous position, and blocking up the road leading to Valencia.

* Carbonell, p. 191. Ayala, p. 382.

† Ayala, ibid. Feliù, "Hist. de Cataluña," t. II. p. 280.

The Castilians were in order of battle at the foot of the ramparts of Murviedro when the Aragonese army appeared on the plain. An engagement seemed inevitable. Pedro IV. hastened to range his soldiers, and, passing quickly along the different battalions as they were forming, exhorted them to do their duty. "I swear," he said to his men-at-arms, "to strike the first blow myself. Let the fore-legs of your horses be close upon the hind-legs of mine."* Don Pedro, however, did not quit the heights. After a long halt of sufficient duration to give the Castilians an opportunity to offer battle, the Aragonese infantry fell back upon the mountains, and remained entrenched opposite the Castilians, whilst the men-at-arms, turning to the left of the public road, approached the sea, and in good order pursued their march along the shore towards Valencia. They had to cross a very deep stream,† by a narrow bridge, and it was feared that the enemy might take advantage of the moment when half the cavalry was over, to fall upon the rearguard. The Conde de Trastamara offered to cover the defile with his company, but the King of Aragon would not yield this post of honour to any one. "Whilst there are a hundred of my men-at-arms," he said, "upon the left bank, opposite the enemy, I will remain at their head."‡ Don Pedro, with the bulk of his forces, observed with apparent indifference the Aragonese column defiling, and merely despatched against them

* Carbonell, p. 192.

† Probably the river Murviedro.

‡ Carbonell, p. 192.

his Andalucian genetours and Moorish auxiliaries. But it was in vain that these bodies of light cavalry endeavoured, by a shower of arrows, to engage the enemy in a skirmish, or to arrest his progress by hovering about his rear-guard : the Aragonese men-at-arms, cased in steel, vouchsafed no attention to adversaries so unworthy of them. Without breaking their ranks, without disturbing their order of march, they continued their way, and soon arrived at La Huerta without the least disorder. At the same time the fleet anchored at El Grao, and disembarked provisions and ammunition, which were immediately despatched to Valencia. The inhabitants received Pedro IV. with such transports of joy as sufficiently proved the distress to which they had been reduced. Every man pressed forward towards him; they kissed his hands, his armour, even the very accoutrements of his horse.* These testimonies of affection on the part of the Aragonese towards their master, contrast strangely with the sentiments Don Pedro inspired in his vassals. He had only succeeded in making himself feared.

This was the second time that, in the same place and almost under the same circumstances, Don Pedro refused a decisive battle, or neglected the opportunity of engaging. On the first occasion it may be imagined that, seeing his army weakened by the detachments left to secure his new conquests, he did not think it prudent to hazard a battle with an enemy superior in numbers; but this time his forces were at least equal to those of the King of Aragon, and we must seek

* Carbonell, p. 192.

another motive to explain his inaction. The new pretensions of the Conde de Trastamara, the lofty hopes of the two allied kings, that bold scheme of partitioning the kingdom of Castile, were not mere idle bravadoes. Don Pedro knew his position only too well. In the eyes of the unthinking multitude he seemed at the height of his power; but he felt that in reality he had been mortally struck in the midst of his victories, and that it was in vain he attempted to conceal his real weakness from his adversaries. A deep discontent had spread throughout his kingdom, and presaged an approaching catastrophe. He could no longer strike off the heads of his subjects, for there remained none he cared to lay low. He beheld only docile slaves around him; but the unaccustomed obedience of these Ricos Hombres, lately so turbulent, only served to redouble his uneasiness. He was not deceived with respect to the hatred which the entire nation, weary of war and exasperated by his despotism, bore towards him. How could he dare to engage with an army, one-third of which was composed of banished Castilians, relatives, friends, fellow-countrymen of his Ricos Hombres, whose loyalty he constantly distrusted? The defection, the mere hesitation of a single corps, would have sufficed to effect his ruin. It was thus that the battle of Araviana had been lost; and he now beheld around him men who would have regarded a defeat as the signal of their deliverance. Don Pedro had yet another motive for temporising. He was awaiting his fleet, and he expected more assistance from it, than from his land forces, for the greater number of his vessels were commanded by foreigners, of whose fidelity he felt assured.

In fine, this war of sieges, that he was carrying on, offered great advantages to him. His troops lived at the expense of the enemy, whose territory they laid waste; every town, every castle which fell into his power, enabled him to satisfy a few of his rapacious nobles; the hope of plunder retained the soldier in his duty. Such, in my opinion, were the considerations which compelled him to lengthen out the war. Nevertheless, he took care not to avow them; he even complained of not having been able to force the King of Aragon to come to a decisive battle. "He makes war like an Almogavar,"* said Don Pedro. Thus were

* This name, which is of Arab extraction, is derived, it is said, from their head-piece, which consisted of a steel hood, covering the head and shoulders. This species of helmet was introduced into Spain by the Arabs. It may be seen in one of the paintings in the Alhambra. The offensive weapons of the Almogavares were a few javelins, and a battle-axe of a peculiar form. They never slept within doors, and bore hunger and thirst with wonderful constancy. Their war cry was: "*Hierro despierta!*" "Steel awake!" *See* the "Chronicle of Muntaner," and the "Expedicion de los Catalanes contra Turcos y Griegos," by Moncada.

"If Miedes," says Dr. Southey, "be right in the etymology which they assign to this word, it may perhaps mean men of the earth, *i. e.* who lay upon the bare earth. Moncada, however, in his "Expedicion de los Catalanes y Aragoneses," p. 19, thinks the name refers rather to their origin, than their customs, and that they were descended from the Avars, as is affirmed by the Byzantine historian, George Pachymen.

In the Sicilian wars between Pedro III. of Aragon, and the French, a party of the Almogavares fell in with a large body of the enemy, and fled. One of them was taken, and the French thought him such a monster, that instead of killing him, they took him to the Prince of the Morea, their commander, as a

designated an irregular militia, composed more especially of Catalans, who were most indefatigable pedestrians, and as skilful in surprising an enemy as in eluding pursuit. Although the Almogavares had beaten the French barons and their men-at-arms in the Morea,

curiosity. His dress was a short frock, girt round him with a rope; a bonnet of undrest leather, with buskins and shoes of the same, and this was all; he was lean and sun-burnt, his beard long, and his hair black and bushy. He was asked who he was, and he answered; "An Almogavar of the King of Aragon's army." The Prince, thinking little of him because of his wretched appearance, observed that it was not possible there could be any worth or courage in such a miserable, poor, half savage race, if they were all such as this. The Almogavar was offended at this, and said: "In truth he thought himself one of the meanest of his fellows; yet such as he was, if they would restore him his weapons, and any knight was there who would venture to fight him armed at all points and on horseback, he would undertake the combat on condition that he should be set at liberty if he were conqueror, or, otherwise, put to death." The prince expressed so great a wish to see this challenge accepted, that a young French knight presented himself; and they went out to the field. The knight couched his spear, and ran at him, he leapt aside from the encounter, and at the same time threw his dart with a sure aim, and drove it half way to the hilt in the horse's breast; the horse fell, and in an instant, the Almogavar was upon his enemy, knife in hand, had cut the lace of his helmet, and in another instant would have had his head off, had not the prince interfered. The prince then ordered him to be clothed and sent to Messina. When the King of Aragon heard this, he ordered ten Frenchmen to be clothed, and sent them to the Prince, saying: "That for every one of his people whom he would set at liberty, he would give ten Frenchmen in exchange." *Desclot*, p. 125 of Cervera's translation. Quoted in Southey's Chronicle of the Cid.

the glory of their exploits did not cause the fact to be forgotten, that they were rude peasants, and their name almost a term of reproach amongst knights, especially among the Aragonese chivalry, who piqued themselves upon warring like true caballeros, and according to the principles of military science. Don Pedro's reproach highly offended the King of Aragon, and he hastened to reply to it by a formal cartel, offering to present himself with his whole army before the king of Castile, on a given day, in a plain lying between Murviedro and Valencia, there to decide their quarrel by a single combat.* On the day appointed, he actually advanced within a league's distance from Murviedro, and there waited his adversary in order of battle; but Don Pedro took as little notice of this bravado as of the challenge which preceded it.

II.

During twelve days, the two armies remained inactive: the Aragonese at Valencia, the Castilians at Murviedro. At last the Castilian fleet appeared in sight, consisting of eighty sail, twenty gallies of which were from Seville, and ten from Portugal, the remainder were transport vessels. Don Pedro immediately left all his cavalry in his camp, and embarked with his most skilful cross-bowmen, sailing towards the hostile fleet. The latter,† which was inferior in number, had taken refuge in the Xucar, near Cullera. The narrow mouth of the river, the

* Carbonell, p. 192.

† The Aragonese fleet was commanded by the Vizconde de Cardona, the same noble who, on the murder of the Infante of Aragon, fled to his castle.—*T.*

entrenchments which defended it; lastly, the presence of Pedro IV. and his whole army on the shore, did not allow the Castilians to attempt a serious attack. A few days were passed in reconnoitring, in skirmishes, and ineffectual efforts to induce the enemy to fight, or to force a way to the river. Don Pedro, in order to block up the Aragonese fleet in a narrower compass, made three of his vessels enter the channel.* He did not quit his galley, and himself surveyed the enemy's movements with his wonted activity. Suddenly a strong easterly wind placed his fleet in imminent danger of being thrown on the coast. The practised pilots of this latitude despaired of being able to resist the storm. The Aragonese collected on the shore, expecting every moment to see the King of Castile fall into their hands. His capitana (principal galley) having anchored very near the shore, was more exposed than the rest of his ships. The enemy watched his every movement; and Don Pedro himself, during the whole day, could see the fetters his foes were preparing for him. His vessel lost successively three anchors, the cables breaking every time. The fourth anchor fortunately held out and saved him. Towards sunset the wind fell, and the Castilian fleet, notwithstanding the damage it had sustained, succeeded in taking advantage of the calm to gain the ocean. Whilst the storm was at its height, Don Pedro made a vow that if he escaped the violence of the sea, he would go as a pilgrim to the church of Our Lady del Puch, which was near Murviedro, and renowned for its miracles. This is, I believe, the only

* Feliù, An. de Cataluña, t. II. p. 280.

time that great peril wrung from him any words expressive of religious feeling. Whether sincere or not, on his return to Murviedro that vow was faithfully kept, and he repaired to the church del Puch in his shirt, barefooted, and with a rope round his neck, like a condemned criminal seeking to obtain pardon.*

Shortly afterwards he quitted the kingdom of Valencia to return to Seville, leaving part of his army to guard the towns and fortresses he had taken in that and the preceding campaign. His health had been affected by the fatigues he had undergone, and obliged him to rest during the oppressive summer heats. The campaign had moreover been of an unusually long duration, and we have seen that he was resolved not to hazard a battle. Perhaps, too, his desire of personally superintending the completion of the noble structures he was erecting in the Alcazar of Seville contributed to expedite his return to his favorite residence. It was then that he celebrated the inauguration of that renowned palace, so remarkable for the elegance of its Arabian architecture, and that he traced the inscription which may still be read on the portal of the edifice. "The most high, most noble, most puissant conqueror, Don Pedro, by the grace of God, King of Castile and Leon, constructed this palace and this façade in the year of the era MCCCCII."†

His sojourn at Seville was not however long. As

* Ayala, p. 384.

† Zuñiga, Ann. de Sev., t. II, p. 165. "El muy alto y muy noble, y muy poderoso y conquistador Don Pedro, por la gracia de Dios, Rey de Castilla y de Leon mandó facer estos alcaynes y estas facadas que fue hecho en la era mil quatro cientos y dos." "The Alcazar of Seville is entered by two gates, either by that de la

early as the month of August, on learning that the King of Aragon had turned his arms against Murviedro, he reappeared in the kingdom of Valencia, and recommenced that war of sieges and pillages which seemed to have no other object than the total ruin of the country. His incursions extended from Calatayud to the other side of Alicante. His light Andalucian cavalry, by the rapidity of their movements, gave him a great advantage over the enemy, who could only oppose to them his heavy men-at-arms. Among the large number of towns and fortresses which fell into his hands in the course of this campaign, Castel Favib was the only place which sustained a regular siege. The inhabitants had revolted, had massacred the Castilian garrison, and to reduce them, the king was obliged to attack the town with the bulk of his forces, bringing with him his machines, which belaboured the ramparts for a month. To construct these engines, as well as to direct their operations, the king engaged the services of two Moors from Cartagena, sons of a renowned engineer named Maestre Ali.* It will be remembered that at that period the Mohammedans were almost the

Banderas, where the colours are hoisted when the king is residing, or by that de la Montera, from whence he sallied forth to the chace. The grand portal is quite Moorish, yet it was built in 1346 by Don Pedro, the great restorer of this palace. At this period, the elaborate Oriental decorations of the Alhambra were just completed by Yusuf I.; and Pedro, who was frequently on the best terms with the Moors of Granada, desirous of adopting that style, employed the Moorish workmen, just as the Christian Norman kings in Sicily did Saracenic ones, from want of sufficient taste and talent among their own ruder subjects." *Ford's Spain.*

* Ayala, p. 387. Cascales, Hist. de Murcia, p. 137.

only cultivators of the arts and sciences in Spain. They were Moorish architects who built the palaces and mansions of Seville, and whether to destroy or to construct walls, it was necessary to have recourse to the superior skill of Arabian artists.

After the taking of Castel-Favib, Don Pedro marched against Orihuela, one of the most important places in the kingdom of Valencia. The King of Aragon had resolved to risk everything to prevent the siege. He called together all the troops then at his command, and towards the end of November had assembled about three thousand men-at-arms and fifteen thousand infantry around Algeciras. On the 1st of December he set forward with a large supply of provisions, and on the morning of the third day, the whole of this army deployed in a place called Campo de la Matanza, very near to Lix, where the King of Castile lay encamped. The Aragonese had journeyed eighteen Spanish leagues in two days, marching through unfrequented roads and barren heaths. The kingdom of Valencia, so populous and productive under the dominion of the Moors, had now entirely changed its aspect. This may be best understood by the following fact related in Pedro IV's memoirs. His army, advancing in one vast line, roused an enormous quantity of game. Ten thousand partridges, and sufficient hares to fill a hundred carts, were killed during the march. To such a condition had that fertile land, once so highly cultivated, been reduced.*

Notwithstanding their fatiguing journey, the Ara-

* Carbonell, p. 194, verso.

gonese, inspirited by this unexpected sport, were full of confidence and ardour, and thoroughly persuaded that they would this time terminate the war by a battle. Pedro IV. shared in these hopes; he expected to take his enemy by surprise, and did not conceal his full assurance of victory. On arriving at his quarters, he threw himself on a mattrass to gain some repose before the next day's march. "Sleep now, Sire," said the Conde de Trastamara to him, "you are now just at the end of these tedious marches. It is thus, however, that great kings crush their feeble adversaries. By your diligence you have to-day plucked out the right eye of your enemy, the King of Castile."* This confidence on the part of the Aragonese, this certainty of victory, was doubtless founded on some intelligence with the inhabitants of the Castilian army. Don Pedro, however, did not allow himself to be surprised. Warned by his scouts of the foe's approach, he hastened to bring all his troops out of Lix, and to range them in order of battle. He had six thousand horse, either men-at-arms, or genetours, and eleven thousand foot. At day-break the two armies were found facing each other, and sufficiently near for the one party to distinguish the banners of the other. Don Pedro summoned all his captains to hold a council of war. "The King of Aragon," he said, "is marching upon Orihuela to prevent our laying siege to that town. Ought we to attack him?" There was a deep silence. All turned their eyes towards Diego de Padilla, the Master of Calatrava, as though

* Carbonell, p. 194, verso.

expecting him to reply in the name of the rest. "Sire," said the Master, "it is a long time since God gave to the house of Castile and the house of Aragon their appointed shares, and if Castile were now divided into four parts, one alone of those quarters would constitute a kingdom larger than the whole of Aragon. You, as Master of all Castile, are the greatest king amongst Christians, and I might add with truth the greatest in the wide world. My opinion is, that if to-day you attack the King of Aragon with all your strength, you will overcome him, and become King both of Castile and Aragon, nay, with the help of God, Emperor of Spain." Padilla, the king's brother-in-law, and considered as the confidant of his ambitious dreams, revealed perhaps at that moment his master's most secret thoughts. All the other captains, imagining that they were seconding the king's intentions, were unanimous in recommending a battle, and presaging victory. Whilst they were speaking, Don Pedro, greatly agitated, his figure drawn up to its full height, was eating a piece of bread he had just asked of a page. "Then," he returned, "you all agree that I ought to give battle to the Aragonese? Well! I, on my part, tell you that if I had for my natural vassals men like those of the King of Aragon, I would fearlessly fight against you and against all Spain. But do you know the value I set upon my vassals? With this morsel of bread I could feed all the loyal subjects I have throughout Castile."* With this abrupt reply the

* "E lo dit Rey de Castiella pres lo dit pa e dix aytales paraules o semblants: A mi semeia que vosotros todos seades de acuerdo que ponga batalla al Rey de Aragon, de que yo digo en verdat, que si yo tomasse con mi los que el dito Rey de Aragon

king, leaving all his captains amazed and confounded, remounted his horse, and gave the order for the army to re-enter Lix, abandoning the road to the Aragonese, who immediately set about revictualling Orihuela. They passed, with banners flying, in sight of the hostile camp, where every one with more or less sincerity was deploring the suspicious humour of Don Pedro. "He was losing," it was said, "the most favorable opportunity for destroying his adversary, and was imprinting a stain on the honour of the Castilian army." Several of his captains ventured to remonstrate freely with him: but he was immoveable, and rudely repulsed these uninvited counsellors. It seemed that he had been made acquainted with some act of treachery aimed against his person, and if he did not punish it, no doubt the only reason for such forbearance was, that the traitors were too numerous.

After having carried provisions into Orihuela, and augmented the garrison, the King of Aragon, retaking the road to Valencia, again braved the Castilian army, and defiled at a short distance from their lines. This time as before, Don Pedro positively refused to engage. All that he would consent to, and that only through the importunity of his chamberlain, Martin Lopez, was to confide to him 2,000 genetours that he might harass and annoy the enemy on their march. At the head of

tiene en si, e los havia por mis vassallos o por mis naturales, que senes todo miedo pelearia con todos vosotros e con toda Castella e ahun con tóda Hespanya: e por que sepais yo en que vos tiengo, es asin, que con este pan que tiengo en mi mano pienso que se hartarian cuantos leales ay en Castella." Carbonell, p. 195, verso.

these 2,000 genetours, Martin Lopez charged the Aragonese rear-guard so vigorously, that he threw it into the greatest disorder, and it is thought that the victory would have been complete had the rest of the army seconded the attack of his light cavalry.* This barren advantage was soon counterbalanced by a reverse. A Castilian convoy, which the Master of Alcantara was leading to Murviedro, was intercepted by an Aragonese detachment from Valencia. The Master lost his life in this engagement, the consequences of which were most fatal to Don Pedro, since the garrison of Murviedro were ill supplied with provisions, and had been depending on that convoy to revictual their town. Moreover, the king made no attempt to send any assistance.† On the approach of winter he returned to Andalucia and finished the campaign. Martin Lopez obtained the Mastership of Alcantara in reward for his brilliant achievements. He now enjoyed the highest favour; by what services he had earned it we have already seen.

IV.

In the wars of the middle ages there was no method, no fixed plan of action. After a few weeks passed in Seville, Don Pedro again set out in order to lay siege to Orihuela, which he had allowed to be relieved under his own eyes. But before entering upon the enemy's

* Compare Ayala, p. 388. Zurita, lib. IX, cap. LIX. Carbonell, p. 195, and following.

† Ayala, p. 389.

territory, he passed through Cartagena, and there put to death the captains and crews of five Aragonese gallies, recently captured by his fleet. The galley slaves were alone spared, to be distributed amongst the vessels of the conquerors; and thus the Catalan sailors paid dearly for the insolence of Perellos. The Aragonese gallies had been taken in an engagement on the coast of Barbary, when the Conde de Osuna, son of Bernal de Cabrera, commanded the principal Castilian galley, and distinguished himself by his valour in fighting against his compatriots.* There were emigrants in both camps, and these were ever the most zealous in fanning the flame of discord.

The siege of Orihuela commenced at the same time as that of Murviedro. The two kings pressed forward the works with equal activity, each of them hoping to force his adversary to renounce his enterprize; and each, while obstinately persisting in his own schemes, and desiring a victory for himself alone, indifferent to the fate of his lieutenants. It was in vain that the governor of Murviedro despatched message after message to Don Pedro to inform him of his almost desperate condition. The king only replied by redoubling his attacks upon Orihuela.† After eight days of continual fighting, the Castilians carried the town, but so long as the castle

* Zurita, t. II, p. 340. Ayala, p. 391.

† During this siege, Don Enrique's cause experienced a serious loss in the death of Don Alonso de Guzman, one of his most zealous partisans, who perished at Orihuela, June 7th, in the flower of his age. "He was," writes Mariana, "a man of tried valour and acute wit, wise and prudent in council."—*T.*

held out, no decisive advantage could be considered to have been obtained. The castle was then esteemed one of the strongest fortresses in Spain, and Martin Eslaba, its governor, a brave Aragonese caballero and Rico Hombre, were resolved to defend it to the last extremity. So long as he could animate his soldiers by his presence and example, they valiantly resisted all the enemy's attacks; but he had received a dangerous wound, his men lost courage, and laid down their arms. It is said that some Castilian cavalleros having summoned him to a conference, he appeared unsuspectingly upon the battlements, and that, meanwhile, the king, who happened at that moment to be standing on a small building raised at the foot of the rampart, ordered two archers to take aim at him. Eslaba, struck by the arrows on the head, died a few days after the surrender of Orihuela, poisoned by the king's physicians, at least so says the chronicler, who apparently did not consider two arrows sufficient to slay so brave a knight.* Satisfied with this conquest, Don Pedro, after leaving a considerable garrison in Orihuela, returned to Seville, without considering the forlorn condition of Murviedro which was now reduced to the greatest distress.

This place, although abandoned, or rather betrayed by its master, had offered a resistance such as the king of Aragon had not expected. The prior of San Juan,† who commanded the garrison, made continual sorties, and seemed rather to be besieging the Aragonese camp than defending his own fortress. Nevertheless famine

* Ayala, p. 391.

† Don Gomez de Porras.—*T.*

was soon to triumph over courage and gallantry. The supply of bread had failed soon after the commencement of the siege. They killed the mules, then the war-horses ; at last even this description of food grew scarce. There was no hope of succour. Amidst the luxuries of Seville, Don Pedro forgot the sufferings of his faithful soldiers. In this extremity, the prior believed it his duty to preserve for his master's service the brave men to whom exhaustion would soon leave no other resource than to die sword in hand. He capitulated on the most honourable terms ; he was to quit the city with arms and baggage, and to re-enter Castile escorted by an Aragonese detachment. Murviedro having been surrendered to the King of Aragon, the garrison, composed of about six hundred dismounted men-at-arms, and a proportionate number of foot-soldiers, was conducted to the frontier by the Conde de Trastamara and his company. It was not undesignedly that Don Enrique had accepted this mission. Skilled in the arts of seduction, he exerted all his talents to corrupt those valiant soldiers whom he had not been able to conquer. His caresses, the encomiums he lavished upon them, his care for the sick and wounded, produced a greater effect than had his arms. He represented to them that they had been shamelessly sacrificed, and that on their return, instead of the rewards due to their courage, the revenge of a relentless tyrant must await them, for Don Pedro punished ill-fortune as a crime. He next adroitly boasted of the power of the Aragonese monarch, his generous ally, who had armed in his quarrel, and for the deliverance of Castile. Above all,

he laid great stress on the approaching arrival of the Free Companies, the flower of the two most warlike nations in Europe. Their chiefs, he said, were crossing the mountains with an innumerable army, and with himself at their head, were about to deliver Castile from its tyrannical oppressor. Without openly avowing his pretensions to the crown, he insinuated that upon him alone depended the repose of Castile; that from him alone might be expected honours, employments, rewards of all kinds. To those who would abandon an ungrateful master and enlist under his banners, he offered handsome pay, and the hope of sharing his fortunes; but he declared that he had no wish to constrain any man. "Whoever," he said, "whether now or hereafter, feeling dissatisfied with Don Pedro, desires to serve a lord more generous and more just, let him come to me, secure of a hearty welcome; for I have only taken up arms to restore to the Castilian nobility their ancient privileges, which are now trampled under foot." Such was the language of the Conde and his emissaries whilst conducting the garrison of Murviedro to the Castilian frontiers. A great number of soldiers, won by his promises, enrolled themselves under his banner. The rest, although alarmed at the defection of their comrades, were faithful to their oaths, and re-entered their native country, anxious rather to conceal themselves than to demand the price of their services. Touched by the gallant bearing and courtesy of the Pretender, already half won, and full of mistrust as to the eventual success of Don Pedro, they spread everywhere the praises of Don Enrique, and openly

announced the approach of those terrible auxiliaries who had menaced Spain for the last four years.*

Whilst Murviedro was still offering resistance, a new treaty was signed by Pedro IV. and Don Enrique. It repeated the substance of the preceding convention relative to the partition of Castile, and to the alliance, offensive and defensive, between the contracting parties. Lastly, it bound them still more closely to each other by stipulating that the marriage of Doña Leonor, daughter of the King of Aragon, with Don Juan, eldest son of the Conde de Trastamara, should be solemnized as soon as the affianced pair should have attained the legal age for that union.† Meanwhile, the Infanta of Aragon was to be committed to the charge of the Condessa de Trastamara, who was to take her either to the Castle of Opoll, or that of Taltaull; both of which had been given by Pedro IV. as sureties for the contract, until the conquest of Castile should be effected.‡ The dowry of the young princess, which had been fixed at 200,000 golden florins, was to be advanced to Don Enrique, to meet the expenses of the expedition he meditated.‖ Besides that sum, he was empowered to sell the lands and castles he held of the King of Ara-

* Ayala, p. 302, and following.

† Namely, fourteen years for the young man, and twelve years for his betrothed. "Arch. gen. de Ar. Capitula facta per dom. regem et comitem olim Trastamaræ, nunc regem Castellæ, apud locum seu obsidionem Muriveteris." No date, register 1548, p. 70, and following, art. 7.

‡ Arch. gen. de Arag. Capitula, &c., art. 9.

‖ Idem, Replications e aditions feytes per lo Senyor Rey, &c., art. 6.

gon, to the amount of 70,000 florins. Moreover, the arrears due to his soldiers, and ten months' pay in advance for a thousand men-at-arms, and a thousand foot soldiers, were to be paid him; and finally, the Counts of Denia and Foix were to follow him into Castile, with an auxiliary force, and to remain with him as long as they should require his services, on condition that Don Enrique engaged to defend them *as his own person*.* For the first time in all these oft-repeated treaties, the pretensions of the bastard to the throne of Castile were clearly expressed; and the last article provided that the Conde, on becoming king, should recognize, as his successor, his son Don Juan, and should present the Infanta Leonor to the Cortes as their future queen.†

* Arch. gen. de Arag., Replications, &c., art. 4.

† Ibid, art. 7.

CHAPTER VII.

ARRIVAL OF THE FREE COMPANY IN SPAIN.
1366.

I.

When during the night, in the solitude of Africa, amidst the confused cries of a crowd of wild animals disputing their prey, the roar of a lion is heard, suddenly all clamour ceases, and an appalling silence ensues. It is the homage rendered by terror to the king of the desert. In like manner, when intelligence arrived that the Free Company was on march, and crossing the Pyrenees, a strange calm unexpectedly succeeded those interminable skirmishes which for so long a time had devastated Spain. The two kings, each in his own capital, silently prepared for one last effort. They felt that the war was about to change its character, and that the dread moment for mortal combat had arrived.

After long negociations, the captains of the French and English Free Companies, who, though at peace with each other ever since the conclusion of the truce between their princes, had not been wholly idle, inasmuch as they had in concert laid waste France, now decided upon seeking for fresh prey in the Peninsula. The correspondence that the Conde de Trastamara

had maintained with some of them, the promises of the Kings of Aragon and France, and of the Pope, and, above all, a few subsidies judiciously distributed, had rallied together the different bands, and made them welcome with acclamation the project of an invasion of Castile. The King of France especially, more interested than any one in freeing his country from these troublesome guests, had powerfully seconded the pressing invitations of Don Enrique and the King of Aragon. He had himself supplied the Adventurers with a chief, and that chief was the man in whom he reposed his entire confidence; the best of his captains, the renowned Bertrand du Guesclin.* To him alone, in fact, was confided the difficult task of organizing an army from those hordes of pillagers, of disciplining them, and leading them far from the country they were devastating, in order to engage in a hazardous enterprize, and to seek a doubtful remuneration.

Du Guesclin, who had sprung from an illustrious Breton family, had from his earliest years attached

* Du Guesclin is named in deeds severally, Glecquin, Gléaquin, Gayaquin, Glesquin, Gleyquin, Claikin, &c. This would make him out of the true Breton race. He himself was inclined to believe that he was descended from a Moorish king, Hakim, who had withdrawn into Brittany, and on being driven out of the country by Charlemagne, left behind him in the town of Glay, a son whom Charles had baptized. After the Castilian war, the Constable wished to cross into Africa, and conquer Bugia.—*See* the manuscript in the Bibliothèque de la Nation, entitled "Conquête de la Bret. Armorique, faite par le preux Charlemagne sur ung payen nommé Aquin, qu'il avoist usurpé, &c. No 35,356 du P. Lelong." Michelet, vol. I, p. 397.

himself to the House of France, and served it with the most entire devotion. His whole life was passed in efforts to merge into one powerful monarchy the numerous lordships whom an equivocal state of vassalage connected with the Crown. He appears to have possessed, what was so rare in the middle ages, the virtue of patriotism; not merely a narrow predilection for any particular province or town, but an enlightened attachment to the honour and glory of a great nation. Although by birth a Breton, he had chosen to become a Frenchman. His courage, activity, and skill in military exercises, his successes, and even his reverses, had acquired for him, while still in his youth, the reputation of a good lance and a consummate captain. Under heavy and mean features, and a form of more than ordinary bodily vigour, he concealed most extraordinary powers of penetration, and, like Machiavel's general, he could enact by turns the lion and the fox. In the camp, his broad shoulders, his muscular figure, his swarthy and sun-burnt countenance, his immense fists,* which could wield a battle-axe as easily as a reed, commanded the respect of the warriors, at a period when the heavy weight of armour rendered physical strength the soldier's first quality. In counsel he was cautious, supple, and sometimes eloquent, skilfully temporising boldness with prudence, and enlivening his good sense with a species of buffoonery. Although

* Li uns à autre dit: il est bien aprestez
Pour meurdrire marchans, maints en a desrobez.
Regardez qu'il est fort, con a les poins carrez!
Il est fort et poissant et moult noir et halez.
Chronique en vers de Du Guesclin, v. 1619.

holding no higher rank than that of a poor captain of adventurers, he could always find means to enforce the obedience of those high and mighty lords whom the king's pleasure appointed as his lieutenants; and such was his address in managing the jealous susceptibility of a proud and undisciplined nobility, that the favours with which he was loaded excited no envy, and seemed no more than the just reward of his services.

Du Guesclin had repaired to Châlons-sur-Saone to confer with the chiefs of the Adventurers. He brought them only the promises of the two kings, and a trifling sum of money; but, which was worth more, he offered them his sword, his reputation, his long experience. He had been a soldier for five-and-twenty years, and whether as friend or enemy of the captains of free lances, he had won the esteem of all. To be enrolled under such a general, was to engage in a profitable enterprize. His name alone guaranteed success. After having assembled the principal chiefs, French, Gascon, and English, Bertrand explained his designs with that blunt frankness which was usual to him, and which, though certainly a habit, had perhaps been purposely acquired. "You lead the life of robbers," said he to them. "Every day you risk your lives in predatory incursions, which yet do not enrich you. I come to propose an enterprize worthy of gallant knights, and to open to you a new field of action. In Spain, both glory and profit await you. You will there find a rich and avaricious king, who possesses great treasures, is the ally of the Saracens, in fact, is half a Pagan himself: it is proposed to conquer his kingdom,

and to bestow it upon the Conde de Trastamara, an old comrade of yours, a good lance, as you all know, and a gentle and generous knight, who will share with you that land which you will win for him from the Jews and Moslems of that wicked king, Don Pedro. Come, comrades, let us honour God and shame the devil!"*

Amongst the captains of the Free Companies there were many knights sprung from noble families, who had been bred up in chivalric notions, and were as much enamoured of glory as of booty; they were even susceptible of a certain religious enthusiasm. To dethrone a cruel prince, suspected of heresy, the murderer of a young and fair princess, to share his wealth,—what could be more attractive, more romantic? It was realizing the old heroic theme sung by minstrels and troubadours.

Du Guesclin's oration was received with unanimous acclamation. As for the soldiers, strangers to the noble and refined sentiments which influenced so powerfully their chiefs, it signified to them little who the enemy was with whom they fought, provided that he was rich. "Messire Bertrand," they said, "gives all that he wins to his men-at-arms. He is the father of the soldier. Let us march with him!" The agreement was soon made. Men who looked upon war as a mere matter of speculation were well content to follow a skilful and successful chief, it was to ensure certain and great advantages.

When Du Guesclin returned to Paris to give an ac-

* Chronique en vers de Du Guesclin, v. 7304.

count of his mission, and to take leave of the king, Charles V. embraced him before the whole court, and exclaimed that his brave Breton had done more for his service, than if he had won him a province. He spoke truly, the Free Companies by evacuating France restored to Charles his kingdom.

Without loss of time, Du Guesclin collected all his bands, and formed them into a considerable army. A large number of illustrious volunteers joined the Adventurers, attracted by the reputation of their general, and animated by their own desire to perform deeds of arms, to use the expression then current. Under his banner might be seen Maréchal d'Audeneham, who, a few years before, had failed in a similar mission to that in which Du Guesclin had just succeeded. The Marshal was then a prisoner of the Prince of Wales, on parole, and many brave knights who had been unfortunate in the late war, following d'Audeneham's example, gaily set out for Spain, in the hope of repairing their losses, and recovering their ransom at Don Pedro's expense. A prince of the blood royal, the Comte de la Marche, did not disdain to be enrolled amongst this troop of brave volunteers. He was related to the unfortunate Blanche, and had sworn to avenge her murder. The Sire de Beaujeu, also a relative of Blanche, set out with him. They were the only men whose expedition into Spain was dictated by pure chivalric motives.

The united bands amounted to more than twelve thousand troops, the greater part men-at-arms, that is to say, heavy armed horsemen. Two thirds were French or Bretons, the remainder English, or Gascon subjects of the King of England. None of the last mentioned

thought it necessary to ask permission of Edward III. to serve against a prince who was an ally of Great Britain. Every knight of that period believed himself free to lend his lance to those who would best pay him for its use, and the most scrupulous, on entering a foreign service, only stipulated that they should not be required to fight against their legitimate suzerain. Sir Hugh de Calverley* headed the English bands. After

* It may interest the English reader to have quaint old Fuller's account of this British worthy. "Sir Hugh de Calverley was born at Calverley, in the county of Cheshire. Tradition makes him a man of teeth and hands, who would feed as much as two and fight as much as ten men. His quick and strong appetite could digest any thing but an injury; so that killing a man is reported the cause of his quitting this county, making hence for London, then for France. Here he became a most eminent soldier, answering the character our great antiquary hath given him. Arte militari ita in Galliâ inclaruit ut vividæ ejus virtuti nihil fuit impervium." *Camden.*

"I find five of his principal achievements: 1. When he was one of the thirty English in France, who in a duel encountered a many Bretons. 2. When in the last of King Edward III. being Governor of Calais, he looked on (his hands being tied behind him by a truce yet in force for a month), and saw the English slain before his eyes, whose blood he soon after revenged. 3. When in the first of King Richard II. after an unfortunate voyage of our English nobility, beaten home with a tempest, he took Bark-bulloigne, and five and twenty other French ships, besides the castle of Mark lately lost by negligence, which he recovered. 4. When in the next year he spoiled Estaples at a fair time, bringing thence so much plunder, as enriched the Calicians for many years after. 5. When he married the Queen of Aragon, which is most certain, her arms being quartered on his tomb, though I cannot satisfy the reader in the particularities thereof.

["The

having been for a long time the opponent of Du Guesclin, he was now his most skilful lieutenant.

At that period the equipment of the French and English men-at-arms was very superior to that of the Spaniards. This is proved by the astonishment caused among the latter people by the sight of the armour and accoutrements of the northern warriors.* These in the fourteenth century consisted of plates of steel, or wrought iron, covering the whole body, and worn over a doublet of thick leather, or even sometimes over a coat of mail, as if the wearers had wished to combine the advantages of modern armour with the ancient panoply. Ordinarily, in the hour of battle, the men-at-arms dismounted from their horses, and shortened their lances, in order to obtain greater command over them.† They only used war horses, which they called coursers, for pursuit, or in retreat, or sometimes, though rarely, to break the enemy's line.‡ The English infantry was the

"The certain date of his death is unknown, which by proportion may be collected about the year 1388; after which time no mention of him, and it was as impossible for such a spirit not to be, as not to be active." Fuller's "Worthies," vol. i. p. 274.

Of the other English knights who accompanied Calverley into Spain, those most known to fame were Sir Eustace d'Ambrecourt, Sir Matthew Gournay, of whom more anon, Sir Walter Hewit, Sir John Devereux, Sir John Neville, and Sir Robert Knowles. —*T.*

* Ayala, Abrev. p. 399. A curious passage in which the chronicler calls by their French names, all the different pieces of plate armour, which were unknown in Spain, until the arrival of the Free Companies.

† Froissart calls this operation *retailler* the lances.

‡ This was fruitlessly attempted at Poitiers. *V. Froissart.*

best, or rather, the only infantry in Europe. Armed with bows of yew trees, and stationed behind stakes, fixed in the ground, to protect them from the cavalry, the English soldiers discharged arrows an ell in length, which few cuirasses could resist. Such was their reputation for dexterity, that in allusion to the number of arrows which they carried in their quivers, it was said upon the Scottish frontier, that an English archer carried twenty-four Scotchmen at his back. In the French armies, the cross-bow was preferred to the simple long bow; but even this weapon was only dexterously managed by foreigners, Genoese for the most part, whose services were dearly purchased. The best arms, the best soldiers of France and England, were assembled under the same banner in the White Company. Their tactics were as novel as their armour to the country they were about to invade. The Spaniards, accustomed to the light skirmishing warfare of the Moors, had insensibly adopted their mode of fighting. Their genetours, encased in light coats of mail, or cassocks of quilted cloth,* and mounted upon light and spirited horses, threw their javelins at full gallop, and then wheeled round without caring to keep their ranks.† With the

* Perpuntes. Ayala, p. 99, Abrev. Cavallo Alforado. Treaties of the King of Aragon with Don Enrique.

† "So had he seen in Fair Castile,
The youth in glittering squadrons start;
Sudden the flying jennet wheel,
And hurl the unexpected dart."
Lay of the Last Minstrel.

"By my fayth," sayd the Duke of Lancaster (to a Portuguese esquire), "of all the feates of armes that the Castellyans, and they of your countrey doth use, the castynge of their darts best

exception of the military orders, who were better armed and better disciplined than the genetours, the Spanish cavalry were unable to resist the English or French men-at-arms. The infantry, composed of a militia furnished by the towns, and of peasants headed by their lords, had no other defensive armour than a round buckler. They fought with slings or *zagares* (a kind of javelin used among the Moors) and were only formidable behind rocks or walls. In open field, they could not dispute the victory with foreign soldiers encased in steel, and well accustomed to fight at a distance, or man to man. It was therefore evident that the arrival of the Free Company in Spain would cast an overwhelming weight into the scales.

II.

About the middle of the year 1365, the Free Companies commenced their march. Notwithstanding the enthusiastic feelings with which he was regarded by his new soldiers, Du Guesclin had judged it prudent to remove them as soon as possible from the country in

pleaseth me, and gladly I wolde see it; for as I hear say, if they strike one aryghte, without he be well armed, the dart will pierce him thrughe." "By my fayth, Sir," sayd the sqyer, "ye say trouth; for I have seen many a grete stroke given with them, which at one time cost us derely, and was to us great displeasure; for, at the sayd skyrmishe, Sir John Laurence of Coygne was striken with a dart in such wise, that the head perced all the plates of his cote of mayle, and a sack stopped with sylke, and passed throughe his body so, that he fell down dead." *Berner's Froissart*, quoted in Scott.

which their habits had been formed, fearing that the inconstancy natural to such recruits might induce them to return to their former mode of life. He therefore hastened to direct their course to the south of France. Crosses were painted upon their banners and vests, and their captain proclaimed, that he was leading them to Cyprus against the Saracens.* Du Guesclin undoubtedly did not expect to deceive the King of Castile, but he probably wished to afford a pretext to the English commanders for remaining under his standard, a report having spread that the Prince of Wales, according to the terms of his treaty with Don Pedro, was about to prohibit his subjects from bearing arms against a sovereign allied to England.† The whole army, however, knew already the object of the expedition, and, notwithstanding the crosses embroidered upon their colours, thought much more of obtaining booty, than of gaining indulgences.

These new crusaders, as formidable to the church, as to the castle and cottage, were still under the ban of excommunication. The anathema must be removed before they could enter a country where they professed to sustain the cause of religion; their general was consequently desirous of obtaining absolution from the Pope whilst on the road. But he had another design. Perfectly aware that his soldiers would not remain tractable unless they were well paid, he secretly resolved to fill his military chest at the expense of the apostolic

* Chron. de Du Guesclin, v. 7549, and following.

† Rymer, "De impediendo soldarios qui in comitiva se ponunt, ne ingrediantur in Hispaniam," 6th of Dec. 1365.

coffers. About the end of the year 1365, the inhabitants of Villeneuve-lés-Avignon beheld with dismay the White Company encamp in front of their ramparts. Great was the alarm in the court of the Holy Father. He immediately hastened to intimate to the chiefs of the Companies his desire that they should evacuate the territory of the Church, promising at the same time to remove the excommunication they had incurred. The mission was a dangerous one, and it was not without hesitation that the Cardinal of Jerusalem consented to undertake it. He had scarcely crossed the Rhone than he found himself in the presence of a troop of English archers, who insolently demanded if he brought them money.* "Ay; money!" cried a crowd of ferocious soldiers, impeding his passage. On being led to Du Guesclin's tent, the cardinal was received with the greatest politeness; but it was signified to him, that the Company would not quit the Papal territory until they had received a large subsidy. Some of the chiefs expressed a deep respect for the church, declaring, at the same time, that they had no authority over their troops. Others relentlessly rallied the cardinal, telling him that "ready as they were to hazard their lives for the greater glory of the faith, they well deserved the assistance of the church." Du Guesclin represented to him the danger which the Holy Father must incur if he delayed the payment required. "Our men," he said, "have become good catholics in spite of themselves, and they would very readily return to their old trade." Notwithstanding the imminence of the danger, the Pope

* Bien soyez-vous venus; apportez-vous argent? *Chron. de Du Guesclin*, v. 7510.

wished to try, the effect of the Apostolic thunder, and for some time resisted; but he soon found that he was only irritating and augmenting the audacity of the bandits encamped at his gates. From the windows of his palace he beheld the country residences and farms of Villeneuve abandoned to plunder. Fires too were already kindled. The Adventurers were momentarily threatening to attack the bridge of Saint Benezet, or, crossing the river in boats, were laying waste far and wide the rich lands of Avignon. Meanwhile Du Guesclin's constant reply to the complaints which poured in upon him from all quarters was, "What can I do? my soldiers are excommunicated. The devil is in them, and we are no longer their masters." Very soon the amount of the contribution was the only question in dispute, and, after certain conferences had been held, the chiefs of the White Company agreed to be satisfied with 5000 gold florins. The burghers of Avignon readily advanced the greater part of this sum, which probably was never repaid them.* The Knights Com-

* The author of the Rhyming Chronicle of Du Guesclin relates this exploit of his hero with the malicious pleasure common to the poets of the middle ages, who were always irreverently disposed towards the Church. According to this version, which has been unhesitatingly adopted by history, Du Guesclin had required that the entire sum should be paid out of the Apostolic coffers, saying that he was about to fight, not for the interests of the burghers of Avignon, but for those of the Holy Father. There is no foundation for this statement. It appears from a manuscript petition of the Municipal Council of Avignon, preserved in the archives of the prefecture of Vaucluse, that the ransom of the ecclesiastical territory was accepted by Du Guesclin without his making any observation as to its origin. But it seems

panions were absolved, and, laden with plunder, set out in high spirits, singing the praises of their new captain. Such was their farewell to France.

III.

The negociations between the Kings of Aragon and Navarre were actively proceeding. To the last moment, Carlos protested against the entrance of the Company into Spain. He had learned the character of these adventurers in France, and trembling lest his province should become the theatre of war, he never ceased conjuring Pedro IV. to drive them from his frontiers.* The treaty of Sos had not been observed on either side, and the King of Aragon was too prudent to give subsidies to an ally so notoriously faithless as the King of Navarre. His treasure, moreover, was exhausted by the requirements of Don Enrique and the Adventurers, and he was unprepared to make fresh sacrifices. He had been forced, during the preceding

that eventually the Cardinal of Jerusalem, Vicar of Avignon, endeavoured to charge the city with the 5000 florins paid to the Knights Companions, although it had originally engaged to contribute only 1500 florins. This at least is my interpretation of the petition, which, through its detestable Latinity, is very obscure. I owe the perusal of it to the kindness of M. Achard, the archivist of Vaucluse, who discovered the document, and readily gave me permission to publish it. He was not able to find any instrument referring to the result of the petition presented to the Sovereign Pontiff. Compare Nostre Dame, His. de Provence, p. 422. Chron. de Du Guesclin, v. 7693-7724. Appendix I.

* Arch. gen. de Arag. Proposals made to the King of Aragon by Mosen Juan de Arellano, on the part of the King of Navarre. Art. 4, reg. 1205, p. 61, and following.

year, to seize and melt down the gold and silver ornaments kept in the churches, even the chalices and censors, in order to pay his troops.* Meanwhile he endeavoured to amuse the Navarrese by fresh promises. He sought to strike a bargain with him. An open alliance being too expensive, they began to discuss the conditions of a partial neutrality, and for this Carlos desired to be well paid.† He at first required that the eldest son of the King of Aragon should wed the Infanta of Navarre, without receiving any portion with her;‡ next, that Pedro IV. should guarantee his territory against the attacks of France;§ lastly, and undoubtedly this was the essential point of the negociation, that in consideration of his good-will, a sum of 40,000 golden florins should be counted out to him, the object of which subsidy would be disguised by the cession of some unimportant castles in Aragon.‖ The King of Navarre soon perceived that he was too exacting, and lowered his demand to 20,000 florins.¶ On his side,

* "Axi com son retaules d'argent, creus, calzers y lanties, y encensers." Carbonell, p. 193.

† Arch. gen. de Arag. Proposals of Mosen J. de Arellano, reg. 1205, p. 61, and following. "Que tenido non seu de fazer guerra de su persona ni de su regno." Art. 1.

‡ Arch. gen. de Arag. "Que non le sia tengut donar ni livrar terres ni argent, e sera li fet e assignat dodari e camba axi tal como fo à Doña Maria de Navarra." Art. 2.

§ Arch. gen. de Arag. Art. 4.

‖ Arch. gen. de Arag. "Quel dito Rey d'Arago considerando la buena voluntat del dito Rey de Navarra e las misiones que ha feyto por causa de los sobre dichos castiellos, prometa de dar al dito Rey de Navarra 40,000 florines d'oro." Art. 6.

¶ Replies of the King of Aragon to the preceding propositions. Art. 6, reg. 1205, p. 63, and following.

the King of Aragon consented to the marriage of his son,* who was already engaged to several princesses by as many different treaties; he likewise promised subsidies for the future, and issued orders prohibiting the entrance of the Free Companies into his states.†

I pass over in silence the oaths exchanged and incessantly renewed between the two princes, for, strange as it may appear, the usual formalities were still observed, although they could no longer deceive any one. At the same time that he was in treaty with the King of Navarre, Pedro IV. despatched ambassadors to Paris with secret instructions to conclude an alliance, offensive and defensive, with France, the end of which must be the ruin of the Navarrese monarch, and the partition of his dominions.‡ Thus, at the time when the fairest pro-

* Replies of the King of Aragon to the preceding propositions. Additions to proposals. The King of Aragon consents to the marriage, on condition that he may send confidential persons to see the Infanta at leisure in her retirement, that he may become acquainted with her health, her person and her character. "Para veer la Infanta a huella (for *huelga*), la sanida te apostamiento de su persona e haver informacion de su persona." I mention this as a singular instance of the prudence and diplomacy of the middle ages.

† Ibid. Answer of the King of Aragon to article 4 of the propositions of J. de Arellano. Letter of the King of Aragon to Jordan de Urries. Huerta de Serra, 2365. He professes great friendship for the King of Navarre, and orders, under pain of his displeasure, that the mountain passes shall be defended against the entrance of every foreign troop. Reg. 1205, p. 58. Another letter, to the same effect and of the same date, addressed to the Council of Jaca. Same register, p. 59.

‡ Arch. gen. de Arag. Instructions sent to Mosen F. Perellos, ambassador to Pedro IV. in France, 12th of November, 1364.

vinces of his kingdom were in the hands of his enemies, Pedro IV. still dreamed of the conquest of half Spain. Everything seemed possible with such auxiliaries as the Adventurers; Don Enrique and the King of Aragon urged on their march by repeated messages, and made great preparations to receive them. Provisions and sure guides were to meet them at the mountain passes.* All the exiled Castilians, and a body of Aragonese volunteers, commanded by the Conde de Denia, were assembled on the Castilian frontier. According to a convention lately signed at Zaragoza, Pedro IV. was not personally to take part in the expedition. He remained in readiness to profit by the first successes of Don Enrique, and to retake those towns in Valencia which were in the occupation of the Castilians. His captains had orders to push forward as far as the kingdom of Murcia, and, if it were possible, to take posses-

Reg. 1295, Secretorum, p. 111. Similar fresh instructions in 1365. Same reg. p. 115. Fresh instructions to Perellos, dated from Tortosa, August 15, 1365, reg. 1293. Secret, p. 93. Project of a treaty with the Duke of Anjou to make war upon the King of Navarre. No date, probably early in the year 1366. reg. 1293, p. 135. Letter to Perellos on the same subject. Barcelona, 10th of September, 1366. Ibid., p. 137. Treaty of alliance offensive and defensive with France against the King of Navarre, signed at Toulouse, 29th of September, 1366. It is agreed that the Duke of Anjou shall attack the King of Navarre in person with at least 400 *glaives* (lances). The provinces of the King of Navarre, situated to the south of the Pyrenees, shall in future belong to the King of Aragon, the latter furnishing the King of France with 400 lances, to aid him in taking possession of the other territories of the King of Navarre. Reg. 1293, p. 144, and following.

* Arch. gen. de Arag. Letter from Pedro IV. Zaragoza, 26th of February. 1366. Register 1213, p. 16.

sion of that province, in virtue of the treaty of partition concluded at Benifar, and ratified first at Murviedro, and finally at Zaragoza. The King of Aragon shrank from no sacrifice, being persuaded that the safety of his kingdom depended entirely upon this last effort. His treasure was exhausted, but he sold his patrimonial property,* and found new resources wherewith he paid the twelve thousand mercenaries who were about to decide the fate of Castile and Aragon.

They at last appeared, preceded a few days by their chiefs, whom Pedro IV. received with great honour at Barcelona. At a grand entertainment which he gave them, Du Guesclin was seated at the right hand of the king, the Infante Raymond Berenger, his uncle, being on his left.† But the Breton was not the man to be satisfied with such royal favours as these; he came to claim the subsidies promised his troops, and to exact fresh ones. Pedro IV. had engaged to pay the troops of the Free Company 100,000 golden florins, on condition that they should pass through his dominions without committing any disorder. To this was to be added a supplementary sum of 20,000 florins.‡ The

* Arch. gen. de Arag. Act of sale passed by the king. Zaragoza, 12th of March, 1366. Register 1213, p. 42, and following. The preamble runs as follows: "Quantas nobis nostræque rei publicæ oppressiones et dampna, quantaque pericula comminaret mora solutionis quam facere habemus comiti Trastameræ et istis gallicanis agminibus, quæ divina magestas in nostrum auxilium contra regem Castellæ nostrum hostem publicum exaltavit, &c."

† Carbonell, p. 196.

‡ Carbonell, p. 196. Pedro IV. further granted Du Guesclin the lands of Borgia, and created him a Conde.—*T.*

Adventurers, however, who had crossed the mountains during the month of January, proved still more ungovernable in Aragon than they had been in France. Imagining that they were already in the enemy's country, they put to fire and sword all that came in their way. On their entry into Barbastro they pillaged the houses, massacred the burghers, or subjected them to torture in order to extort a ransom from them. A few of these unfortunate individuals took refuge in the principal church, and there endeavoured to defend themselves: but the Adventurers set fire to the roof, and thus burnt alive more than two hundred persons.*

Nothing was denied to these foreigners; and such was the terror they inspired, that the inhabitants were grateful to escape from injury. The subjects of the King of Aragon applied to the French and English captains, when they desired to obtain favours from their sovereign, and the recommendations of these chiefs, though probably interested, were always graciously received.†

IV.

Whilst this terrible avalanche was descending from the heights of the Pyrenees, Don Pedro prepared to sustain the shock as best he could. Levying troops everywhere, and hastening from one end of his kingdom

* Zurita, t. II, p. 342.

† Arch. gen. de Arag. Privileges granted to Maestre Roberto de Estanten, burgher of Zaragoza, at the instance of Messire Hugh de Calverley. Zaragoza 1st of March, 1366. Reg. 1213. Sigilli Secreti, p. 24.

to the other in order to inspire his people with energy and alacrity in their warlike preparations, he had assigned Burgos as the place of meeting for the different corps of his army. He repaired thither in person at the commencement of the year 1366, when the enemy had already set foot on the Castilian territory, and found a large number of troops, who were, however, totally undisciplined, and intimidated, moreover, by the current report of the number, valour, and ferocity of the new adversaries they were about to fight. His best soldiers were in the kingdom of Valencia, scattered here and there, guarding the towns of which they had taken possession during the late campaign.* If he remarked fewer signs of discouragement among his Ricos Hombres, and the cavalleros assembled around his banner, he also recalled with a bitter feeling of anxiety, the various motives they had for hating him. Were they not relatives and friends of those numerous lords who had been sacrificed to his distrust, assassinated by his orders, or dishonoured by a sentence of treason? Was it to defend him, or to betray him to his enemy, that all his nobles now displayed so much confidence? Alarming reports arrived day after day to augment his anxiety. Formerly, when at the head of a victorious army, he had advanced into the very heart of Aragon, the fear of a general defection had prevented him from risking a decisive battle; how much more reason was there to apprehend treachery now that Don Enrique, with the best soldiers of France and England,

* Ayala, p. 405.

had entered Castile, and extended his hand to the malcontents! In the situation to which Don Pedro was reduced, everything excited his mistrust; even the testimonies of devotion and fidelity that were offered him by his most loyal servants. Prudence should have induced him to conceal his suspicions and uneasiness. On the contrary, he indulged in loud and imprudent complaints, made accusations at random, and seemed to provoke disorder, by threats which had already become impotent.

Whilst harassed by a hundred conflicting resolutions, and awaiting the storm in extreme despondency, there arrived at Burgos the Seigneur d'Albret, a vassal of the King of England, whose hatred to the Kings of Navarre and Aragon naturally rendered him the ally of Castile. As companion in arms, or relative to many of the chiefs of the Free Company, the Seigneur d'Albret came to offer Don Pedro his influence in enticing them into his service, or at least in obliging them to quit that of the Conde de Trastamara. It would appear especially easy to seduce the English and Gascon adventurers, who might find a specious pretext for abandoning Du Guesclin in the open disapprobation just expressed by the Prince of Wales of their expedition, directed as it was against an ally of England. Nothing more was needed than to indemnify the captains, and to offer liberal pay to the soldiers. Without money, however, there was no possibility of treating with the Knight's Companions, and Don Pedro was only lavish to his mistresses; he rejected the offer of the Seigneur d'Albret, and also that of Iñigo Lopez de Orozco, who

shortly afterwards brought formal proposals from several English chiefs.* And yet the king's coffers were full; in that respect only had he an advantage over his enemies. It is hardly possible to conceive such blindness in a prince so perfectly aware of the extent of his danger.

Winter, by delaying the commencement of the campaign, had detained the Adventurers upon the Aragonese territory long enough to make their hosts duly sensible of the burden of their presence. Their wild excesses naturally provoked reprisals, and the warlike mountaineers of Aragon and Navarre revenged the robberies of the Knights Companions by waylaying their convoys and massacring their stragglers.† The time had at last arrived when this detested horde was to be launched upon the enemy's country.

In the beginning of March, 1366, Sir Hugh de Calverley commenced hostilities by attacking Borja, a town of Aragon, which had been occupied for some time past by the Castilians.‡ On the approach of the English vanguard, the garrison hastily abandoned the place, dragging with them in their flight a considerable body of Castilian troops cantoned at Magalon. After

* Ayala, p. 397 and 405.

† Arch. Gen. de Arag. Order of the King of Aragon for repopulating the town of Pina, which had been sacked (*barreyado*) by the French companies. Zaragoza, 24th of Feb., 1366. Reg. 1213. Sigilli, Secret. p. 15.—Order of the king to restore to the Conde de Urgell the fifty horned beasts forcibly carried away by the inhabitants of Perthus from the French, who had seized them at Antillon, a domain belonging to this Conde. Zaragoza, 5th of March, 1366. Ibid. p. 24. Appendix K.

‡ Ayala, p. 400.

this easily obtained success, the entire army of Don Enrique was set in motion; it entered Navarre without meeting any obstacle, crossed the Ebro, and in the middle of March passed the Castilian frontier not far from Alfaro. Without losing time in besieging this stronghold, which was guarded by Iñigo de Orozco, the troops marched straight upon Calahorra, a more considerable, but indifferently fortified town. There Don Enrique's partisans had agreed to meet him, and were preparing for his reception. Don Fernando de Tovar, the Bishop of Calahorra, and some other Ricos Hombres whom Don Pedro had charged to place this town in a state of defence, were among the first to open its gates as soon as the enemy's banners appeared in sight.*

This first defection was of importance; it proved how heartily Don Pedro was detested. It was at Calahorra that Don Enrique was to announce his pretensions publicly. The scene had been prepared, the parts studied beforehand. The crown was to be solemnly given to the leader of the Free Company, and Bertrand Du Guesclin, in the name of the French, Sir Hugh, as representative of the English, and the Conde de Denia, chief of the Aragonese auxiliaries, had prepared what

* Ayala, p. 400. The inhabitants of Calahorra, according to Mr. Dillon, were greatly exasperated at the treachery of their rulers,—the women tearing their hair, and beating their breasts, at the disgrace that had fallen upon their town. For in days of yore, the men of Calahorra had resisted Pompey and his armies, had later endured the most dreadful famine—even eating their wives and children rather than surrender; in fact, the constancy of this city was proverbial, and it is well known that Augustus Cæsar chose his body-guard from among its denizens.—*T.*

might be called the phantom of an election. To these gallant knights the question was neither difficult or embarrassing. They believed the career of the Free Companion to be so boundless, that it might even open a path to a throne. Du Guesclin spoke for his companions. "Take the crown," he said to Don Enrique; "you owe this honour to the many noble knights who have elected you their leader in this campaign. Besides, Don Pedro, your enemy, refuses to meet you in the battle-field, and thus himself acknowledges that the Castilian throne is vacant."*

This perfectly military eloquence was quite to the taste of the twelve thousand bandits who surrounded the orator. Of the people of Castile no account was taken in Du Guesclin's harangue; the point of it lay in his idea of the Adventurers feeling themselves humiliated because they had not a king for their leader. Notwithstanding this specious argument, Don Enrique, with well feigned modesty, resisted long enough for the Castilians to add their entreaties to those of the foreign captains. He at last yielded, and allowed the crown to be placed on his head. Don Tello, immediately unfurling the royal standard, passed through the camp, crying out, "Castile for King Enrique! Long live King Enrique!" Then, amid loud acclamations, he planted the banner on the summit of a hill on the road to Burgos. Every one was eager to beg some favour of the new king, as if to give him the pleasure of exercising the privilege of sovereignty. He

* Ayala, p. 401.

refused no one, and displayed great liberality in granting what had first to be gained at the point of the lance.

This farce being concluded, the army again proceeded on their march, and quickly directed their course towards Burgos, without meeting any obstacle on the road. The towns did not wait the summons of the heralds to send their keys, and nobles and burghers hastened from all parts, eager to kiss the hand of their new master.

The grand question now was, who should first make offer of his services and claim a proportionate reward. It was not until they arrived before Briviesca* that they were aware of the enemy's presence. Men Rodriguez de Senabria commanded this place; he had formerly been an associate of Don Enrique, but was now the faithful servant of Don Pedro. He attempted to defend it; a sharp conflict took place at the barriers; but the governor having been defeated and taken prisoner by a Gascon knight, the garrison laid down their arms before any assault was made.†

V.

Terror and confusion prevailed in Don Pedro's court, and reached the highest pitch when the intelligence arrived that Briviesca had not, for a single day, stayed the impetuous march of the Adventurers. Notwithstanding the number of troops collected at Burgos, it

* Briviesca is only eight leagues from Burgos.

† Ayala, p. 402.

was perfectly understood that the king dared not offer battle, still less hazard the chances of a siege, in a town then so inadequately fortified. Don Pedro remained in the retirement of his palace, refusing to see any one; he issued no orders, and took no pains to encourage his partisans, who were still very numerous, especially amongst the citizens and commonalty. The enemy was, however, still advancing, His scouts had appeared a few leagues from Burgos; a day's march would bring them before the town.

On the eve of Palm Sunday, an unusual stir was remarked in the palace; horses and mules were saddled, and hastily laden with baggage. Six hundred Moorish horsemen, the ordinary guard of Don Pedro, which had been sent by the King of Granada, under the command of Don Mohammed el Cabezani, were drawn up in military order before the gates. A report was immediately circulated that the king was about to depart. None of the magistrates had received notice of his intentions. He had not even disclosed them to any of the Ricos Hombres who had come to offer him their swords; no preparations had been made for the defence of the place, nor for the safety of a considerable amount of treasure shut up in the keep. The king appeared to have forgotten everything, except his thirst for vengeance, and the punishment of treachery. Juan de Tovar, the brother of the Governor of Calahorra who had surrendered his town to the Pretender, was by his order put to death in the interior of the castle.

The people crowded around the palace, and watched in silent consternation these preparations for departure. At the sight of the king, cries of despair mingled with

acclamations, arose. The principal of the burghers threw themselves at his feet, and, with tears in their eyes, conjured him not to desert them. "We have provisions and arms," they said, "we will defend our city. All that we possess in the world, Sire, we lay at your feet. But remain with your faithful vassals." With a faltering voice the king replied, that he thanked them for their fidelity. His departure however was necessary. He had been informed that the Conde and the Company had resolved to march towards Seville, and the safety of the Infantas and the royal treasure must be provided for. A few burghers endeavoured to represent to him how improbable it was that Don Enrique would think of directing his course to Andalucia. On the contrary, the most recent intelligence testified that he was marching with his whole force against Burgos. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, the king remained immoveable. Then the magistrates of the city respectfully inquired what directions he had to give them on thus deserting their city in the hour of danger. "Do the best that you can," he replied impatiently. "Sire," returned the speaker for the burghers, "we would gladly have had the opportunity o defending this your own city against your enemies, bu since you, having at your command so many good cavalleros, do not think it possible to defend it, how would you have us act?" Don Pedro remaining stil silent, the alcayde continued: "If it should happen Sire, which God forbid, that we find ourselves in s great extremity as to render resistance impossible, wil you beforehand release us from the oath of homage and allegiance which we have sworn to you? W

demand this of you once, twice, thrice." "I consent," said the king. A notary immediately drew up a declaration to that effect. One of his treasurers then asked what was to be done with the sums confided to his care, and deposited in the fortress. "Defend the castle!" cried the king, leaping on his horse. "But if the city be taken, the castle cannot hold out." Without deigning to reply, the king set off, followed by the Granadine horsemen, the only troops in whose fidelity he still trusted.*

Among the Ricos Hombres assembled at Burgos, a very small number accompanied him in his retreat,† the majority remained in the city or its environs waiting the event, or rather from that time endeavouring to make the best terms they could with Don Enrique. On seeing themselves thus deserted by the king, his most faithful servants grew disheartened. The commanders of those places which were situated on the other side of Burgos believed they would best testify their loyalty by abandoning the ramparts, and following their master in his flight, the greater number however declared for the conqueror. All the drawbridges were lowered before the Castilian banner borne by the Adventurers, and the mere appearance of the Pretender had sufficed to deprive the legitimate king of one half of his kingdom.

At the moment when Don Enrique was crossing the frontier, Don Pedro had despatched couriers to all the governors of the conquered places in Aragon, and espe-

* Ayala, p. 402, and following.

† Pero Lopez de Ayala followed the king to Toledo. Ayala, p. 404.

cially in the kingdom of Valencia,* with orders to evacuate them as quickly as possible, to set fire to the houses, demolish if possible the fortifications, and rejoin him with all their soldiers. The place of meeting he assigned them was Toledo; for he still cherished the hope of arresting the enemy's progress at the mountain passes which divide the Two Castiles. So far as we can now judge of his plans, he imagined that by yielding territory to his adversary, and thus drawing Don Enrique into the heart of his dominions, he might effect his destruction by means of that guerilla warfare which was familiar to him, and he likewise hoped that the variableness of the climate, united to continual fatigue and privation might disgust the Adventurers, and thus deprive Don Enrique of his principal forces. Such have often been the tactics of Spanish generals, and they have been uniformly attended with success when the people themselves have declared against the invaders. But Don Pedro's cause was not upheld by national feeling, and he was but too well convinced that he could no longer rely upon his subjects. A few of his captains, it is true, on receiving his letters, made for New Castile, or hastily entered the kingdom of Murcia, but the greater number, believing that Don Pedro's cause was irretrievably lost, thought only of themselves, and

* Among the conquests thus abandoned was Calatayud, "whose inhabitants," says Mariana, writing in the reign of Felipe II., "celebrate to this day the recovery of their liberty from the foreign invader in March, 1366, by a solemn annual procession to Santa Maria de la Peña—St. Mary of the Rock, where they offer thanks for their deliverance."—*T.*

dispersed, though not before they had sold to the King of Aragon the places they had received orders to dismantle.*

As soon as Don Pedro had quitted Burgos, the burghers, already discouraged, and aware of the traitorous designs of the Ricos Hombres remaining within their walls, endeavoured to provide for their own safety, and no longer hesitated to send a deputation to Don Enrique. The credentials entrusted by the town council to its envoys, were addressed to the Conde de Trastamara; but they enjoined his recognition as king as soon as he should have sworn to preserve the liberties and privileges of the city. In this sudden revolution both nobles and burghers consulted only their own interests; each man seeking to obtain some private favour from his new master. Instead of conquering a kingdom, Don Enrique was about to purchase one. He swore to maintain the ancient liberties of Burgos, and even promised, it is said, to exempt the town from all taxation; † whereupon the gates were immediately thrown open for his triumphal entry. The next day he was crowned with great pomp in the church of the monastery of Las Huelgas. At this ceremony many Ricos Hombres and deputations from several of the large Castilian towns were present, for the precipitate flight of Don Pedro seemed to all Spain an acknowledgment of his weakness, and, as Du Guesclin had said, an abdication of his sovereignty. The first acts of the

* Ayala, p. 404, Abr., note 4.

† Cascales, "Hist. de Murcia," p. 199. Letter of Don Pedro to the town Council of Murcia.

Pretender were to heap favours upon the men who had made him, but lately a mere captain of adventurers, King of Castile. The money which he found in the castle of Burgos, and which Don Pedro's treasurer had hastened to place in his hands, added to an exorbitant tax imposed upon the Jews of the city, served to satisfy the foreign mercenaries, and to compensate for many a well-timed defection. Titles of nobility, grants of lands, royal fiefs, were distributed with a liberality hitherto unheard of, amongst the principal of his companions in arms, and especially among the chiefs of the Free Company. To Bertrand Du Guesclin he gave the county (condado) of Trastamara, and thereto added the rich lordship of Molina with other wide domains.* Sir Hugh de Calverley received the title of Conde de Carrion, and a considerable apanage which belonged to it.† The

* "Du Guesclin in the first instance, it appears, had only the condados of Trastamara, Lemos, and Soria, granted him; these, however, the Breton knight lost on his being taken prisoner at Navarrete. Don Enrique, on his second invasion of Castile, in order to recompense Du Guesclin for the loss of these lands and dignities, conferred on him the lordships of Molina and Soria, with the title of Duque. On quitting Spain for France, Du Guesclin parted with the same to King Don Enrique, in consideration of 150,000 doblas, and twenty-six English prisoners, who had been taken in a sea-fight by the Castilians." "Cronica de Don Enrique," p. 66.—*T.*

† Sir Hugh received, as his share of the spoil, the county of Carrion, that county being in his favour converted into an hereditary feud. Until then it had only been granted for life to the Gonzalez family, better known to the readers of old Spanish chroniclers and romances as the Infantes of Carrion.—*T.*

Conde de Denia, chief of the Aragonese auxiliaries, and whom Don Enrique during his exile had called his brother-in-arms, was not forgotten; he became Marques de Villena, and obtained for his share all the lands which had composed the dowry of the Condessa de Trastamara. Once a king, Don Enrique did not wish to retain his private fortune. Don Tello resumed the dignity of lord of Biscay, and received in addition investiture of the Seignory of Castañeda. Don Sancho, his brother, was treated with no less generosity, there fell to his share the magnificent inheritance of the famous Don Juan de Alburquerque, which since his son's death had devolved upon the crown. Long-tried followers and companions in exile, deserters, or opponents who had submitted in time, all contended for the rich booty which victory had placed in Don Enrique's hands. It seemed as if Don Pedro had augmented the royal domain for no other purpose than to supply his enemy with the means of exercising his liberality. For the first time in Castile the titles of Conde and Marques, until then reserved for members of the royal family, were given to Ricos Hombres, and even to foreign captains.* Such was the generosity, or rather the prodigality of the new king, that it gave rise to a proverbial expression long afterwards prevalent in Spain. "Don Enrique's favours" being the phrase commonly used to describe those gifts which are obtained before they are earned.†

* Pellicer, "Justificacion de la Grandeza de Don Fernando de Zuñiga," p. 1, and following.

† Mercedes Enriqueñas.

VI.

Whilst Don Enrique was being crowned at Burgos,* Don Pedro was entering Toledo as a fugitive; he stayed there a few days, as though surprised at not being pursued; but the news which he received from all quarters only tended to increase his despondency. Notwithstanding the arrival of some troops from the kingdom of Valencia, he felt less than ever in a position to try the fortune of war. Some slight vestige of the terror which he still inspired might have enabled him to rally round him several thousands of soldiers, but he could not but perceive that the secret charm of his ascendancy was lost, and that he was no longer obeyed as formerly. Toledo was in his eyes no safer asylum than Burgos, he therefore determined to quit it and attempt to reach Andalucia. After having exhorted the inhabitants to make a gallant defence, he left Garci Alvarez, Master of Santiago, as their governor, with some six hundred men-at-arms; and then hurried to Seville, cherishing some faint hope of being able to prolong the struggle in a country which he loved, and on which, more than any other of

* Don Enrique was crowned in the royal monastery of Las Huelgas, where his father, Alfonso XI., had both knighted and crowned himself some fifty years before, in emulation of his great predecessor, San Fernando. The English reader will perhaps like to be reminded that the convent of Las Huelgas was founded by Alfonso VIII., at the instigation of his wife, Leonor, daughter of Henry II. of England, and that our own gallant Edward I. was here knighted by the Emperor Alfonso, whose half-sister, the excellent Elinor of Castile, he married.

his provinces, he had bestowed his favours. Instead of leaving orders for the disciplined troops just returned from Valencia to follow him, he very imprudently distributed them in certain towns of New Castile, under the command of nobles whom he believed devoted to his person, keeping with him only a small number of Ricos Hombres who possessing lands in Andalucia, might there exercise an influence useful to his cause. Those whom he left behind hardly waited until he was out of sight before they made their submission to the conqueror. Neither the remembrance of his benefits, nor the fear of his revenge, could retain them any longer. The very men who had been the most docile ministers of his despotism, sought to bury in oblivion their vile subserviency, by humbling themselves with still meaner eagerness before the prince whom they had so long persecuted. Iñigo de Orozco, who had been entrusted with the defence of Guadalajara, hastened to carry the keys of that place to Burgos.* Diego de Padilla, Master of Calatrava, the brother of her whom Don Pedro had publicly declared his queen, was not one of the last to kiss the hand of him who was now disinheriting his sister's daughters, and depriving them of a crown.† Garci Alvarez, a little less eager than the rest, made some shew of resistance in Toledo, but only for so long a time as was sufficient to complete the sale of his

* Amongst the number of those who now hastened to pay homage to the rising sun, were Pero Gonzalez de Mendoza, Juan Alfonso de Haro, and Garci Laso de la Vega, all representatives of great Spanish historical families.—*T.*

† Ayala, p. 410.

defection. He had been made Master of Santiago by Don Pedro's will alone, after the death of Don Fadrique, whilst Gonzalo Mexia, an old adherent of Don Enrique, and an emigrant ever since the first troubles, had also assumed that title, and had been recognised as Master by those knights of the order who were exiles like himself. Between these two rival claimants for the Mastership of Santiago, there could be no doubt upon whom Don Enrique's choice would fall. Garci Alvarez, seeing the Alcazar and the bridge of Alcantara in the power of the insurgent burghers, was well satisfied to accept in exchange for his renunciation, two extensive domains and a considerable sum of money.* At this price he sold Toledo, or rather that part of the city which his troops still occupied. Don Enrique was received with loud acclamations by the people, who were incited thereto by the clergy and nobility whom Don Pedro, during his despotic rule, had so heavily oppressed. For fifteen days he held his court at Toledo, accepting the homage and submission of the different towns who sent their deputies to him. The procuradores of Cuenca, Avila, Madrid, and Talavera, took the oath of fidelity in his presence, and received in return the confirmation of their privileges, and perhaps, even new franchises. Enrique had not forgotten the conduct of the Jews of Toledo, who some years before had powerfully assisted n expelling him from their walls. Here, as at Burgos, they had to make amends for their attachment to Don Pedro's cause. The Jewry of Toledo was constrained

* Ayala p. 411.

to contribute largely to the pay of the Adventurers, and this arbitrary assessment was exacted with the utmost rigour.*

The Castilian people, and especially the clergy, were not averse to these acts of extortion. The ecclesiastics, who had been maltreated by Don Pedro, eagerly seized an opportunity of avenging themselves, and incited the populace to rise up against a prince whom heaven had abandoned. On the one side, they beheld the rightful king, surrounded by his Mohammedan genetours, flying from his dominions; on the other, the usurper, levying exactions upon the Jews. What more was wanting to establish in the minds of the multitude the flagrant impiety of the one, and the ardent faith of the other?

On arriving at Seville, Don Pedro found the same discouraging symptoms of mutiny which he had observed throughout his route. The Andalucians, whose fields had often been laid waste by the Moors, watched with extreme anxiety the preparations of the King of Granada to succour his ally. Don Pedro had been heard to exclaim, in a moment of passion, that if he were betrayed by his subjects, he could at least trust to the fidelity of King Mohammed, who owed to him his crown. These imprudent words had been malevolently commented upon by the priests and the emissaries of the Pretender. They proclaimed that Don Pedro expected the assistance of a powerful army from Granada, and that he purposed placing in the hands of the Moors the principal towns of Andalucia. Others added that he had promised his ally Mohammed to abjure the Christian faith, and that,

* Ayala, p. 412.

like another Count Julian,* he was about to sacrifice both his religion and his country to his revenge. The populace believed these absurd rumours, which, day by day, became more threatening. Seditious meetings took place in the streets in the neighbourhood of the Alcazar, where the unfortunate king was in a manner blockaded. He soon began to doubt whether he could even here maintain his position with the small number of soldiers remaining faithful to him. In this extremity, after having taken counsel of Martin Lopez, the Master of Alcantara, Mateos Fernandez his chancellor, and Martin Yanez his treasurer, he determined upon quitting Seville, and seeking the assistance of the King of Portugal, his uncle and former ally.

Before Don Pedro's last reverses, the strictest friendship had existed between the two princes, and they had

* Southey, Washington Irving, and Walter Savage Landor, have made the legend of Count Julian familiar to all the world, New as well as Old. In a note to his "Chronicle of the Cid," Dr. Southey says, "Pellicer discredited the story of Count Julian and his daughter, because it is not mentioned in the three oldest Chronicles, and this opinion has been too lightly adopted by other writers without farther consideration. But the authors of those Chronicles wrote with the utmost brevity, and never entered into the particulars of any event. All the Moorish historians relate the circumstance, and all the Spanish traditions agree with them. The Marques de Mondejar, one of the most sceptical as well as most learned investigators of Spanish history admits this story as authentic, and he is followed by Ferreras—a writer as sceptical as himself." Conde too, attaches credit to the tale of the apostacy and desertion of Count Julian, though he treats the romantic history of the Count's daughter, Florinda or Cava, so favourite a subject with poets and balladmongers, with sovereign contempt.—*T.*

resolved to draw the bonds still closer by a marriage between their children. Doña Beatriz, eldest daughter of Maria de Padilla, and heiress presumptive to the throne of Castile, was to have wedded Don Fernando, eldest son of the King of Portugal; but the extreme youth of the princess had hitherto prevented the solemnization of the marriage. Don Pedro, however, confiding in the good faith of his ally, had immediately upon his arrival in Séville, sent his daughter into Portugal with the dowry stipulated in the treaty of alliance, and a large sum of money besides, as well as a quantity of jewellery, which had belonged to Maria de Padilla.*. A few days afterwards, having desired that all the gold and silver which he kept in the castle of Almodavar del Rio should be sent to Seville, he caused it to be embarked in a galley, and charged Martin Yanez to repair with this treasure to Tavira in Portugal, there to await further orders. For his own part, he remained shut up in the Alcazar, almost besieged as it were by his own subjects, and anxiously watching the movements of Don Enrique, though still hesitating to quit the kingdom.

An alarming insurrection soon put an end to his uncertainty. The populace rose in a body and prepared to make an assault upon the Alcazar. They had already taken possession of the arsenal and gallies. There was no longer a moment to lose. The king mounting his horse, left Seville by stealth with the two Infantas, Constanza and Isabel, and a natural daughter of Don Enrique, whom for many years he had kept as

* The young princess, as well as the jewellery and treasure, were entrusted to the care of Martinez de Truxillo, a confidential servant of Don Pedro.

a hostage. He was attended by Martin Lopez, the Master of Alcantara, by his chancellor, and some cavalleros of his palace. It is said that, notwithstanding his melancholy experience and conviction of man's inconstancy, he could not refrain from bitterly expressing his surprise at observing the small number of servants who followed his fortunes. It would, however, have been imprudent to have waited longer for those faithful friends whom he might leave behind him, for hardly had he quitted the Alcazar than the populace broke open the gates, and commenced a general pillage.* Whilst he was thus flying from his capital, Boccanegra, his Genoese admiral, sailed down the Guadalquivir with a few gallies, and steered towards the Portuguese court. He had left the kingdom of Valencia in compliance with the king's orders, had joined Don Pedro at Toledo, and accompanied him to Seville. Here his devotion ended. He now desired to conciliate the good graces of his future master, and as the first proof of his new zeal, gave chase to the vessel containing Martin Yanez and Don Pedro's treasure. He came up with her in the waters of Tavira, and captured her without difficulty; perhaps, as was afterwards suspected. Yanez had purposely allowed his vessel to be taken by the Genoese.†

Notwithstanding his anxiety as to the fate of the ship containing his last resources, Don Pedro, instead of endeavouring to gain Tavira, only sought how he might most speedily obtain an interview with the King of Portugal, who was then at the castle of Vallada, near

* Ayala, p. 413, Abrev. † Ibid. p. 414.

Santarem. He soon learned the kind of reception which awaited him in a foreign land. At Coruche, on the left bank of the Guadiana, he met his daughter, Doña Beatriz, who was thus ignominiously sent back to him by that very ally on whom he had reposed all his hopes. The King of Portugal, without even taking the trouble to invent some pretext for his breach of faith, had had the young princess escorted out of his kingdom with this reply to her father. "The Infante Don Fernando no longer desires to wed the Infanta Doña Beatriz."* About this time a Portuguese noble came to signify to Don Pedro, on the part of his master, that he could neither receive the King of Castile at Santarem, nor grant him an asylum in Portugal. It is said that the king listened to this message with a mournful air, and without replying a word. Then, when alone with one of the cavalleros of his suite, he thrust his hand into his purse, and taking from it some gold pieces threw them over the roof of the house where he had been lodging. The knight, surprised at this action, represented to Don Pedro that it would be better to give this gold to one of his servants than thus to sow it in such an inhospitable soil. "Yes, truly," said the king with a savage smile, "I now sow, but one day I shall return and reap." The cavallero was silent, and left his master to his dreams of revenge.† Thus repulsed in Portugal, Don Pedro endeavoured to re-enter Castile, and drew nigh to the town of Alburquerque, but its

* Ayala. Compare Duarte do Liao, "Chronicas dos Reis de Portugal," p. 222, and following.

† Duarte do Liao, "Chronicas dos Reis de Port.," t. II, p. 224.

gates were closed against him; and he had the mortification of seeing one half of his little troop desert him and join the rebel garrison. Again forced to recross the frontier, and overcome by necessity, he humbled himself so far as to request a safe conduct from the King of Portugal, and an escort wherewith to traverse his states and enter Galicia. There at least he hoped to find a faithful friend in Don Fernando de Castro, who governed that province.

The King of Portugal immediately sent to him the Conde de Barcelona,* and his favorite Don Alvar, brother of the famous Inez de Castro; but it would seem that the respect due to adversity was already too irksome to be observed towards a prince so manifestly deserted by fortune. The two knights declared that they should incur the resentment of the Infante,† their master's son, were they, in accordance with their instructions, to accompany the royal fugitive. However, a sum of 6000 doubloons, and a present of two magnificent swords, and silver belts richly wrought,‡ determined them to escort him as far as Lamego. On parting with the king at that place, they required that the young Leonor, Don Enrique's

* Don Juan Alfonso Tello, Conde de Barselos.

† The Infante, Don Fernando, was nephew to the new King of Castile, who, it will be remembered, had married Doña Juana Manuel de Villena, half-sister to Doña Constanza, Don Fernando's mother.

‡ These belts, called belts of honour, because knights alone had the right to wear them, were in common use in the 14th century, being composed of large metallic plates united by rings. They were worn very low.

daughter, should be placed in their hands, the King of Portugal being desirous of restoring her to her father by way of making amends for the mock protection he had for a moment accorded to the fugitive king.*

A romantic legend has been preserved concerning this young girl. She was called Leonor of the Lions. Some years before, according to an ancient chronicle, Don Pedro had her thrown naked into a den in which were half famished lions. These animals, less ferocious than the king, respected the innocent girl, and did her no injury. The lesson of generosity given him by the lions was not lost upon Don Pedro. He educated Leonor with care, and treated her less as a prisoner than as the companion of his daughters.†

The king's escort being now reduced to about two hundred horsemen, he rapidly, and not without danger, traversed the Portuguese province of Tras-os-Montes, and again touched Castilian ground at Monterey, a small Galician town situated upon the extreme frontier. He who lately was absolute master of Castile, whose armies had occupied the fairest provinces of Aragon, had, in less than two months, lost both his conquests and his dominions, and now stealthily re-entered his kingdom with his three daughters mounted on jaded horses, worn out by watchings and fatigue, and trembling lest every defile, every hamlet, should conceal an ambuscade. After two months of perpetual misery, bitter deception, moral and physical suffering of all kinds, what a moment of happiness it must have been

* Ayala, p. 415.

† Duarte do Liao, "Chron. dos Reis de Port.," II, p. 225.

to Don Pedro when he found a few loyal voices welcome his return to Castile! At Monterey he was met by some cavalleros, despatched by Don Fernando de Castro, to announce the near approach of that noble who, they said, was already on his road to join the king with a considerable force. Letters from Zamora further informed him that, although the town had revolted, the castle remained faithful, and that its governor, Sir John Gascoigne, promised to reduce the rebels, as soon as he should receive reinforcements.* The progress of Don Enrique had been so rapid, that the governors attached to Don Pedro had every where been able to keep down the spirit of insurrection in all places where the presence of the usurper and the Adventurers had not thrown their irresistible weight into the scale. Astorga, Soria, Logroño, still held out for the legitimate king, and seemed resolved to offer a vigorous resistance.

VII.

The first act of Don Pedro on reaching Castilian soil was to write to the Prince of Wales and the King of Navarre, reminding them of the treaties they had entered into with him, and requesting their assistance. Don Fernando de Castro hastened to Monterey, and presented to the king the principal Galician Ricos Hombres, all full of military ardour and resolution. They brought with them their vassals in complete armour, amounting to five hundred horse, and two thousand foot soldiers. With this little army, and protected by the rugged mountains of Galicia, which no Castilian

* Ayala, p. 416, and following.

horse has ever trod with impunity,* they could in perfect safety await the reply of the English prince and the King of Navarre. Fernando de Castro, the Master of Alcantara, and a few of the king's most devoted adherents, advised him not to remain merely on the defensive, but to attack the foe at once. According to them, nothing would be easier than to penetrate into the Castle of Zamora, which had a gate leading out upon the open country. One vigorous sortie would make them masters of the town, and from thence they might march upon Logroño. Don Fernando felt assured that Don Pedro's presence would at once re-animate his partisans, and that he might succeed in re-establishing his authority in those provinces which the Pretender had rather overrun, than reduced to submission. But on the other hand, Mateos Fernandez, his private chancellor, and a few others well acquainted with their master's most secret thoughts, argued that it would be dangerous to expose the king's person to the perils of farther treachery. If they might be believed, the real disposition of Galicia was wavering and uncertain, and there would be considerable difficulty in leading the armed mountaineers of Don Fernando beyond their native country. The most certain means of ensuring the victory, was to obtain the assistance of the Prince of Wales, and to urge his fulfilment of the treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, which he had concluded two years before. The loyal character and chivalric sentiments of the prince precluded all doubt

* It is a popular opinion in Spain, that no foreign horse can live beyond a few days in Galicia.

but that he would at once fly to the assistance of his ally. Aided by the sword of the greatest captain of his age, the king would re-enter his kingdom, and disperse all his enemies in an instant. Such were the counsels of Fernandez, such probably were the intentions of Don Pedro. To his naturally suspicious temperament, and the deep dejection which was the natural consequence of his reverses, was now added a restless anxiety for the safety of his three daughters, the companions of his flight. He had not the courage to face new dangers with them. The reply which the fugitive monarch received from the King of Navarre was sufficient to decide his course. Carlos the Bad still hesitated between the two brothers; it was, however, easy to discover, through the vague promises he made the vanquished king, that he intended declaring for the conqueror.

Whilst Navarre remained neutral, or rather was suspected of an inclination to favour the claims of Don Enrique, it would have been the height of imprudence to have relied upon the strength and fidelity of his frontiers, and to re-commence hostilities in the north of Castile. It was resolved that the king should embark at Coruña, and repair to the Prince of Wales at Bordeaux. Whilst he was negociating for the entrance of an English army into Spain, Don Fernando de Castro, now bearing the title of Adelantado of the provinces of Galicia and Leon, was to stir up the zeal of the northern provinces, and wage war with the usurper. Before his departure, the king rewarded Don Fernando's fidelity by creating him Conde de Lemos.

Quitting Monterey, after a sojourn of three weeks,

Don Pedro directed his steps towards Santiago de Compostella. The festival of St. John the Baptist had at that time attracted thither a multitude of pilgrims from all parts of the Peninsula, and it was therefore the best place in which to gain exact information as to the state of popular feeling in the different provinces. The Archbishop of Santiago, Don Suero, a native of Toledo, and related to the most illustrious families of that city, met Don Pedro with a suite of two hundred horsemen. He was received coldly. He, indeed, seemed to present himself unwillingly, and the sincerity of his offers might fairly be doubted, since all his relations at Toledo had declared for Don Enrique, and their defection had induced that of their fellow citizens. The sight of Don Suero appeared to remind the king of the loss of the most important city in his kingdom. The interview was brief and constrained. After having presided at the celebration of the feast, the Archbishop went to spend the night at his Castle de la Rocha, probably because he had given up his town residence to the king.

The next day, after the hour of siesta, he was sent for by Don Pedro. He immediately repaired to Santiago, with a small escort, composed almost exclusively of ecclesiastics. When he had entered the town, and reached the square fronting the cathedral, he perceived the king walking on one of the platforms of the church. At this moment, a Galician esquire, named Fernando Perez Churrichao, well mounted, lance in hand, and followed by several horsemen, appeared behind the prelate, as though to swell the number of his train.

Suddenly, as the Archbishop dismounted at the church porch, Churrichao and his companions sprang upon him, and in a moment dispersed his escort. Don Pedro, looking down from his elevated position, called out to them not to slay the Archbishop. The latter, accompanied by a canon, rushed into the church, hoping to find there an asylum; but the assassins followed him with their swords drawn, and he fell, pierced with a thousand wounds, at the foot of the altar. Having ascertained that their victim had ceased to breathe, they re-mounted their horses, passed through the city without obstruction, and gained the open country.*

The death of Don Suero was of course attributed to Don Pedro, and there are many reasons why he should be held responsible for it. He had betrayed his dislike of the Archbishop before his most familiar friends, and had accused him of being an accomplice of the rebels of Toledo. Besides, at the very moment when the prelate was murdered in the midst of the choir, the father of Churrichao was by the king's side, as though he had come to guarantee his son's performance of a necessary and predetermined deed of vengeance. Lastly, the sequestration laid upon all the property belonging to the Archbishop, the grant of his fortresses to Don Fernando de Castro, this readiness to dispose of the fruits of a crime, do they not clearly seem to point at the real author?† Nevertheless, Ayala,

* Ayala, p. 418, Abrev.

† The strongest argument for the supposition that Don Pedro intended the murder of Don Suero, seems to have been overlooked by M. Mérimée. The Archbishop belonged to the Toledo family,

from whom I borrow these details, relates that at a later period Don Pedro constantly denied all participation in this crime.* This assurance is certainly of weight, proceeding as it does from a prince who imagined that he had an absolute right over the lives of his subjects, and who, far from disavowing his most cruel actions, often expressed regret at having spared certain of his enemies. Perhaps, after all, the death of Don Suero was merely an act of private vengeance. It is probable that the king had ordered his person to be secured, but not that he should be assassinated. In

to that family, one amongst whose members, Gutier Fernandez, had, five or six years earlier, perished by the hand of the headsman, whilst another, Don Vasco, like his relative, Don Suero, an Archbishop, had died in exile. A third, Don Suero's uncle, had received from Don Pedro the highest marks of favour, had been by him created Master of Santiago, had, moreover, since the death of Don Vasco and Gutier Fer andez, been, by the King, named in his will in preference to his relatives by marriage, as tutor to his son. This man, thus highly honoured, treated with greater confidence and consideration than any living noble, had but recently sold the first city in the kingdom to his sovereign's mortal enemy. The last act of royal authority performed by Don Pedro at Burgos, was to put to death the brother of that Governor of Calahorra, who had betrayed the town entrusted to his keeping to Don Enrique. Is it extraordinary that the same prince should pursue the same course at Santiago as he had at Burgos? Is either of these deeds at variance with the whole known life and character of Don Pedro?—of the son of that monarch who, according to the tale current in Montaigne's time, having received a blow from the hand of God, swore that he would be avenged, and in pursuance of his oath, made proclamation that for ten years to come no one throughout his dominions should pray to, mention, or believe in the Deity?—*T.*

* Ayala, p. 418, Abr.

times of anarchy and revolution, the gratification of private hatreds is often disguised under the name of political crimes, and it would not be at all extraordinary that Churrichao should have exceeded his instructions, if indeed he had ever received any. In point of fact, this sanguinary execution cost the king several of his most devoted partisans. Alvar de Castro, brother to Don Fernando, was on his way to Santiago, to offer the king his services, when he heard of the prelate's murder. He immediately retraced his steps, shut himself up in his castle, and declared for Don Enrique. His example was imitated by several Galician Ricos Hombres.*

On arriving at Coruña, Don Pedro found there an envoy from the Prince of Wales, who recommended the Castilian king to repair to England, promising him beforehand the most favourable reception from the prince's father, Edward III. On receiving this assurance, the king immediately embarked with his three daughters, and all that he had been able to save of his gold and silver. He still possessed about 30,000 doubloons, and jewellery of very considerable value.

* Ayala, p. 418.

CHAPTER VIII.

GOVERNMENT OF DON ENRIQUE—CIVIL WAR.
1366 TO 1367.

I.

FORTUNE had reversed the positions of the two brothers: Don Pedro was now imploring the protection of a foreign court, and Don Enrique, astonished at his own success, was daily making new conquests, and receiving an enthusiastic welcome from both nobles and burghers. At Seville, so great was the concourse of people to witness his entrance, that several hours elapsed ere he could make his way through the crowd, every one pressing forward to contemplate his features; and although he had arrived at the city gates very early in the morning, he was unable to enter the Alcazar until after vespers.* He there found several of Don Pedro's old servants, who came to kiss his hands and offer him their tardy homage, bringing excuses which were readily accepted. Admiral Boccanegra gave Don Enrique a reception particularly well-timed. He placed at the disposal of the new king, Don Pedro's treasure, of which he had just taken possession, and which

* Ayala, p. 421.

consisted of thirty-six hundred weight of gold, and a large quantity of jewellery. This prize was more important than the conquest of a province. The Genoese deserter received for his reward the rich lordship of Otiel.* There was not a town nor a castle in Andalucia that hesitated to follow the example of the capital. The Moorish king himself, after some ineftual attempts on the frontier, feeling convinced that the cause of his former protector was for ever lost, sent to sue for peace, and obtained it without difficulty. Don Enrique, now that he was freed from this source of anxiety, and seeing the whole kingdom at his feet, Galicia alone excepted, thought that he could not do better than rid himself of his auxiliaries, who began to prove troublesome.

The Adventurers, finding few opportunities of fighting, were determined not to be deprived of their privilege of pillaging. Complaints of their violent conduct was raised on all sides, and in some provinces the people took up arms against them. Don Enrique dismissed the greater number of these mercenaries, though not without first loading them with presents. He only desired to retain in his service Du Guesclin and Calverley, who were in some measure become his liegemen, with fifteen hundred lances chosen principally from the French and Breton bands.† At the suggestion of Du Guesclin, in whom he placed entire confidence, he had given a preference to the French, and if he retained Sir Hugh de Calverley, it was probably in the

* Salazar, "Casa de Lara," t. II, Lib. XII.

† Ayala, p. 422.

hope that this renowned captain might prove a useful mediator with the Prince of Wales, whose hostile attitude already caused him serious uneasiness. The Comte de La Marche and the Sire de Beaujeu, with the principal body of Adventurers, quitted Spain, satisfied that they had fulfilled their chivalric oath, and avenged their relative, Queen Blanche. At Seville, indeed, they had discovered a ballestero of Don Pedro's guard, whom public rumour accused as the murderer of the young queen, and after having obtained Don Enrique's permission to have this man delivered up to them, they hung him without form of trial.* The execution of this poor wretch constituted the sole exploit of these nobles, the only two men whom a disinterested motive had attracted to the pretender's banner. As for the Adventurers, they found more frequent opportunities for making use of their arms on their return than during their long march through Spain. Castilians, Navarrese, Aragonese, all rose up against them, and the Knights Companions had everywhere to force a passage with their swords. But no obstacle could stay these intrepid veterans. They crossed the Pyrenees in good order, and fought their way through the main body of a French army which vainly endeavoured to oppose their descent from the mountains.†

* Ayala, p. 423. Como quier que fue pequeña emienda; a poor satisfaction, says the chronicler.

† Froissart, Lib. I. Pt. II. chap. CCXIV. Dom Vaissette, t. IV., p. 332. "Hist. de Languedoc," t. IV. p. 332. The majority of the Adventurers were vassals of the King of France, and before they had crossed the Pyrenees, it was generally known that the Black Prince was preparing to invade Spain. Every obstacle was there-

Although Don Enrique was perfectly aware that Galicia, and some cities in the north of Castile, still refused to acknowledge his authority, he remained nearly four months at Seville. This long sojourn was necessary to enable him to organise his government and re-establish order, which had been everywhere disturbed by the late commotions. It was also necessary to negociate with the kings, his neighbours, to satisfy the rapacity of the nobility, content the Commons, obtain from all parties the obedience which had been forgotten during several months of anarchy, and finally, make preparations for a dangerous war, for he did not

fore thrown in the way of the Free Lances. Even the Comte de Foix, at the instance of Messire Bertrand Du Guesclin, who was then at Montpellier with the Duc d'Anjou, refused to allow them to pass through his lands, on the ground that they were little better than common robbers; he, however, yielded at last to the solicitation of the Prince, conveyed to him through Sir John Chandos. Those divisions of the companies, however, who returned to France through the Comtés of Foix and Armagnac, encountered but slight obstacles, compared to the Adventurers who had taken the road through Languedoc. Sir Gui d'Assai, the Seneschal of Toulouse, with the aid of the Vicomte de Narbonne, and the Seneschals of Carcassone and Beaucaire, collecting a force of five hundred men-at-arms, and four thousand archers, left Toulouse to oppose the further progress of the English and Gascon adventurers. On their arrival before Montauban, after a few days passed in unavailing parleys between them and Sir John Combes, the governor of that place, who held it for the Prince of Wales, an engagement took place. The Knights Companions, though much inferior in number, totally routed their opponents, taking Sir Gui d'Assai, the Vicomte de Narbonne, the Seneschals of Carcassone and Beaucaire, with upwards of a hundred French and Provecçal knights, prisoners.—*T.*

conceal from himself that if the English once espoused Don Pedro's cause, they would make a powerful effort in his behalf.* Far from expecting assistance from his former allies, Don Enrique had now reason for anxiety on account of the exigencies of the King of Aragon. He hastened to despatch Du Guesclin to his court. The

* Don Enrique at first, seems to have treated the rumoured invasion of the Prince of Wales but lightly. It was Du Guesclin who made him perceive the extreme danger of his position. "King Enrique," writes Froissart, "had not heard of the prince's intentions to bring his brother Don Pedro back to Castile, so soon as these knights, (the English and Gascon Free Companions) and well it was for them he had not; otherwise if he had received this intelligence, they would not have been suffered to depart so easily; for he had the power to detain and vex them. However, when he knew the truth of it, he did not seem *much affected by it*, nevertheless, he spoke to Sir Bertrand Du Guesclin, who was still with him, as follows: 'Sir Bertrand, think of the Prince of Wales: they say, he intends to make war upon us, to replace by force this Jew, who calls himself King of Spain, upon our throne of Castile. What do you say to this?' To which Sir Bertrand replied: 'He is so valiant and determined a knight, that since he has undertaken it, he will exert himself to the utmost to accomplish it. I would, therefore, advise you to guard well all the passes and defiles on every side, so that no one may enter or go out of your kingdom without your leave. In the meantime, keep up the affections of your subjects. I know for a truth, that you will have great assistance from many knights in France, who will be happy to serve you. I will, with your permission, return thither, where I am sure of finding several friends, and I will bring back with me as many as I possibly can.' 'By my faith,' replied King Enrique, 'you say well; and I will in this business follow everything you shall order.'" *Johnes' Froissart*, vol. i. chap. ccxxxiii.

crafty Breton, by turns general and diplomatist, was to use all the influence his renown had acquired in cementing more closely the sworn alliance between Don Enrique and Pedro IV., an alliance so many times renewed. From Barcelona, after sounding the intentions of the King of Navarre, Du Guesclin was to pass into France and solicit the support of Charles V. against the English invasion. At the same time, Don Enrique despatched Matthew Gournay, another foreigner, to Lisbon to persuade the King of Portugal to remain neutral in the approaching contest.* Pedro of Portu-

* Vizconde de Santarem. "Quadro de relacões politicas e diplomaticos de Portugal, t. III. p. 26. Mathieu de Gournay wasa subject of the King of England. "Matthew Gournay," writes Fuller, "was born at Stoke under Hamden, in the county of Somerset, where his family had long flourished since the Conquest, and there built both a castle and a college. But our Matthew was the honour of the house, renowned under the reign of King Edward III. having fought in seven several signal set battles: viz. 1. At the siege of Algeciras against the Saracens. 2. At the battle of Benenazer against the same. 3. St. Sluce, a sea fight against the French. 4. Cresсy, a land fight against the same. 5. Inger. 6. Poictiers, pitched fights against the French. 7. Nazarer, under the Black Prince in Spain. His armour was beheld by martial men with much civil veneration, with whom his faithful buckler was a relic of esteem.

"But it added to the wonder, that our Matthew, who did lie and watch so long on the bed of honour, should die in the bed of peace, aged ninety and six years, about the beginning of King Richard II. He lies buried under a fair monument, in the church of Stoke aforesaid, whose epitaph, legible in the last age, is since (I suspect) defaced." *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. III. p. 100.

gal had given sufficient indication of the line of policy he intended to pursue, by his treatment of Don Pedro when a fugitive in his dominions, and Matthew Gournay returned from his mission with the most satisfactory assurances.

As soon as Don Enrique was enabled to quit Seville, he marched rapidly towards Galicia, in the hope of annihilating the remains of the hostile faction before it could receive foreign succour. All the unprotected towns sent in their submission at his approach, but Don Fernando de Castro had concentrated his forces in Lugo,* and there offered a vigorous resistance. After a siege, or rather a blockade of several weeks, Don Enrique, despairing of taking that town by force, and being recalled to Castile on urgent business, saved his honour by a treaty, which was accepted by Don Pedro's lieutenant, although with the intention of infringing its conditions as soon as he felt himself sufficiently strong. According to this compact, a truce of five months was proclaimed between the belligerent parties. It was stipulated that if before Easter, in the year 1367, Don Fernando were not relieved, he should surrender Lugo, and all the fortresses occupied by his troops to Don Enrique; De Castro was then to have the choice of either leaving the kingdom, with all his property, or remaining there in undisturbed enjoyment of his honours and his new title, on condition of rendering homage to the sovereign now recognized by all Castile. Upon the faith of this treaty, Don Enrique quitted Galicia to repair to Burgos, where he had just convoked

* The most central town of Galicia.

Cortes: his abrupt retreat, however, after his unsuccessful attempt against Lugo, had revived the spirits of Don Pedro's partisans, and Don Fernando, no longer finding an army capable of making head against him, renewed his foraging incursions, augmented the number of his troops, and even took possession of several towns and fortresses. His emissaries were scattered over the northern provinces, and publicly announced the speedy return of the legitimate king at the head of all the forces of Guyenne.*

II.

In fact, the intentions of England could no longer be doubted. The Prince of Wales had no sooner heard of the arrival of Don Pedro at Bayonne, than he quitted Bourdeaux to meet the royal fugitive; the dethroned king, however, in his impatience, anticipated the Prince, and joined him at Cape Breton. He was received not only as a king, but as an ally. His misfortunes, and the presence of the three young maidens, his daughters, so lately escaped from imminent peril, would alone have sufficed to interest a prince who piqued himself upon practising all the chivalric virtues, even had not policy accorded with his natural courtesy. But the Castilian revolution was the work of a Frenchman; the usurper had actually been in the pay of the King of France: this was of itself enough to excite the pride and jealousy of Edward. At the first interview, he unhesitatingly promised Don Pedro his father's and his own protection. He then conducted him back

* Ayala, p. 424, and following.

to Bayonne, where they were shortly joined by the King of Navarre.

Carlos, accustomed to make his alliance a species of traffic, desired time to consider whether it were more advantageous to violate or to keep the promises he had just made with the King of Aragon and Don Enrique. Neither the English Prince nor Don Pedro were ignorant of the King of Navarre's engagements, but they also knew his peculiar mode of observing them. The mountain passes were in his power; they must be purchased; larger offers must be made than the crafty Navarrese had as yet received.

Don Pedro found more loyalty in the Prince of Wales, and yet even his protection was not perfectly disinterested. The English had for a long time coveted the excellent natural harbours of Biscay, and the opportunity appeared favourable for obtaining from a dethroned monarch the cession of a province already separated from the remainder of the Peninsula by its institutions, its language, and customs. Guyenne already contained some Basque subjects, and thus might assimilate others with them as easily as Castile had united the privileged provinces under the rule of her kings. Don Pedro, thirsting for vengeance, was prodigal of promises, and accepted without hesitation the arrangement which was proposed to him. Was he sincere? The result will show. In return for his ready compliance, Edward displayed an ardour almost equal to his own. A campaign in prospective, and the hope of new triumphs delighted this warlike prince; and by turning his attention from his own broken

health, imparted to him fresh, though factitious strength. He pleaded Don Pedro's cause before his father with all the eloquence his ambition could inspire; conjured him to send troops into Spain; and, in answer to the objections which he anticipated, declared that the dethroned prince still retained in his possession a considerable sum of money which would defray the expenses of the expedition. He soon, however, discovered that Don Pedro was not in a position to maintain an army. The gold he had brought with him had rapidly disappeared at the court of Bourdeaux, having been expended in presents made to the prince's favourites. His jewellery was now put to a similar use.* He presented his most precious gems to the Princess of Wales,† and intended selling the remainder; but Edward eagerly offered to receive them as a deposit, and advanced considerable sums upon these pledges, notwithstanding their uncertain value. Before his father and his counsellors, the Prince of Wales affected to calculate coolly the substantial advantages likely to accrue from the expedition, carefully concealing his

* Don Pedro amongst other gifts of great value, presented the Prince of Wales with a magnificent table of most curious workmanship, and ornamented with gold and precious stones. This table was afterwards sold for the comparatively insignificant sum of three hundred marks to Dr. Thomas Arundel, Bishop of Ely, who left it by will to his successors for ever. *Dillon*, vol. II. p. 22.

† The Black Prince had married his second cousin Joan, Countess of Kent, the widow of Sir Thomas Holland. At his wife's request, Edward delayed setting out on his expedition into Castile, until the birth of his child, then daily expected.

generosity, for he was fearful lest his enterprize should be accounted a chivalric reverie, and therefore endeavoured to justify it under the plea of policy and interest.

Don Pedro, feeling secure of the Prince of Wales' friendship, now despatched the Master of Alcantara to London to treat for the marriage of his daughters with the English princes; above all, to urge the immediate equipment of armaments, and to remove the obstacles which the prudent Edward III. still opposed to the passionate enthusiasm of his son. To the instructions given to his ambassador, he added a laboured apology for his conduct, or rather a recrimination against his enemies. "You, Martin Lopez, our faithful servant," wrote Don Pedro to his minister, "you will speak to our cousin, the very puissant King of England, in this wise:—You will tell him how Don Enrique has troubled and laid waste our lands, desiring to drive us out of our kingdoms of Castile and Leon, of which we are the rightful inheritor, not, as he says, the tyrant. And as he is endeavouring, with great perfidy and assiduity, to persuade the Holy Father and the King of France that we ought not to reign, wickedly giving out that we treat our Ricos Hombres with cruelty, and violate the privileges of our nobility, you will tell the King of England that such is not the truth. It is notorious how, at an early age, we lost our lord and father, King Don Alfonso; and how that this Don Enrique, and another of my brothers, Don Fadrique, both of them our elders, who ought to have defended and counselled us, far from so doing, coveted our heritage, and entered into a league at Medina Sidonia against us. God having

frustrated their design, they sought by other means to embroil us with our Ricos Hombres, our towns, and our commons; and because we would not bend to their will, they kept us prisoner, as is well known to you, in the city of Toro. The death which the Master Don Fadrique received at our command, was well deserved for that and other deeds: tell King Edward, moreover, that I am called cruel and a tyrant,* because I have chastised those who refused to obey me, and who did much injury to the peaceable inhabitants of my kingdom. You will tell him boldly all that you have heard from us concerning the crimes of every one of those whom we have punished. In a word, you will add, on our part, whatever may appear to you likely to forward the proposals of which you are the bearer, as also the marriages you wot of."

It will be observed, that in this apology no question is raised concerning either legitimacy or Divine right: These were ideas hardly known to Europe during the middle ages, and assuredly quite foreign to Spain.†

* Rades, "Cron. de Alcantara," p. 29 verso. I translate literally, the better to give the abrupt mixture of diplomatic etiquette and epistolary freedom. The king sometimes says *we*, sometimes I.

† This is correct so far as it concerns Castile and Spain generally. But that bastardy was held as a great, if not an insuperable, bar to the possession of a crown in the other kingdoms of Europe, is sufficiently proved by Edward's answer when several of his Gascon and English subjects recommended him to withhold assistance from Don Pedro. "My lordes," replied the Black Prince, "I thynke and byleve certely that ye counsell me truely to the best of your powers: I knowe well and I am well enfourmed of the lyfe and state of this kyng Dapeter, and knowe well y^{t}

Far from alluding to them, Don Pedro, on the contrary, seems by implication to admit the right of every nation to depose the sovereign who abuses his authority. It is only from the reproach of tyranny that he endeavours to free himself. He has only, he writes, chastised turbulent nobles. He is the unflinching enemy of feudal anarchy: his cause is identified with that of kings generally.

Edward III., as despotic as the Castilian, granted him his protection, and promised to re-establish him upon the throne. After a few weeks passed in negociations, Don Pedro concluded at Libourne, on the 23rd of September, 1366, a double treaty; one with the Prince of Wales, who acted in his father's name; the other with the King of Navarre. To the first he engaged to surrender a part of Biscay, especially the sea-ports: he acknowledged him also as his debtor for a sum of 550,000 golden florins of Florentine coinage. This sum, and a further sum of 56,000 florins, advanced by the Prince, and paid to the King of Navarre as a subsidy, were to be reimbursed within a year's time. The young Infantas, Maria de Padilla's daughters, as well as the wives and children of noble Cas-

without nobre he hath done many yuell dedes wherby nowe he is disceyned: but the cause present y^t moueth and gyuth us corage to be willyng to ayde him is, as I shall shewe you; it is nat couenable that a bastard shuld hold a realme in herytage and put out of his owne realme his brother, ryghtfull enheryter to the lande, the whiche thyng all kynges and kynges sonnes shulde in no wyse suffre nor cosent to, for it is a great prejudice agaynst the state royall." *Berners' Froissart*, Lib. I. ch. CCXXXI.

tilian emigrants, were to remain meanwhile as hostages at Bourdeaux, until this debt had been discharged. By his private treaty with the King of Navarre, Don Pedro ceded him the provinces of Guipuzcoa and Logroño, independent of the subsidy already mentioned. In return, the two princes were to unite all their forces to his, in order to re-establish him in his kingdom, and to expel the usurper.*

Don Pedro further engaged, in the event of a war with the infidels, to yield the post of honour, or as it was then called the *première bataille* (primum bellum) to the kings of England, or their eldest sons, if they should take part in this crusade.† Does not this honourable deference towards his ally indicate that Don Pedro, whose designs were always magnificent, from that time meditated an expedition against Granada? This conjecture is justified to a certain degree by the vindictive character of the king, who always resented most violently the latest offence, and who probably could not pardon Mohammed the peace he had recently concluded with Don Enrique.

* Ayala, p. 433. Rymer, 23rd Sept. 1366. "Carta donacionis regis Castellæ principi Walliæ. Super expensis exsolvendis, etc." t. III. Part II. p. 115, and following.

† Rymer, "De primo bello regibus, etc." Libourne, 23rd of Sept. t. III. Part II. p. 122. By the same treaty, all Englishmen in Spain not engaged in trade or commerce, were to be exempted, "ab omni pedagio, leuda costuma et maletota." The treaty, which bears the king's signature, is dated from Libourne, in the diocese of Bourdeaux. It was afterwards ratified at Bourdeaux, in the presence of John de London, clerk of the diocese of Winchester, and apostolic notary on the 11th of Feb. 1367.—*T.*

As soon as these treaties were signed, and solemnly sworn to at Libourne, Prince Edward was most active in making preparations for the approaching campaign. His captains wanted money for their equipment, and Don Pedro had sold or pawned his last jewels. The prince converted his own plate into money, and distributed the produce among his officers.* Now that he had proved his devotion to the cause of the King of Castile by so many sacrifices, he believed he had acquired a right to give advice, and speak to Don Pedro frankly and unreservedly. He represented to the king how ineffectual his past severity had proved in retaining his subjects in their duty, and conjured him to follow another course when he was reseated on the throne. "Treat your vassals kindly," he said, "unless you win their affection your crown will never be assured to you." Don Pedro in his present position was careful not to reject these sage counsels. He appeared convinced, and swore to pardon all the rebels, excepting only from the amnesty a small number of Ricos Hombres who had been pronounced traitors before the accession of the usurper,† Whether this promise were sincere or only wrung from him by necessity, it sufficed to satisfy the prince, and to lull the scruples which had been awakened in his

* Froissart, B. I. Part II. chap. CCXI.

† Rymer, Treaty of Libourne, vol. III. p. 116. "Item todos los prisioneros—avran hy tal pecho como ellos har acostumbrado en las guerraz de Francia, salvando los traidores judgados por el Rey Don Pedro, Don Tello y Don Sancho sus hermanos, los cuales si presos fueran seran dados al Rey Don Pedro, pagando el tal suma como el Princep ordenara."

generous heart by the recitals of such of his captains as had returned from Castile. Naturally prepossessed in favour of Don Enrique, or perhaps won over by his presents, witnesses moreover of the hatred borne by the nation at large to the exiled king, the English knights who had served under Du Guesclin had brought back with them to Bourdeaux most unfavourable reports touching Don Pedro's character.

III.

Whilst military preparations were actively pressed forward at Guyenne, under the eyes of Don Pedro and the Prince of Wales, Don Enrique convoked the Cortes at Burgos,* and demanded of them the means to resist the English invasion. The position of the new king was critical, and he was not unconscious of the dangers surrounding him. On the eve of a war against the greatest captain and the best soldiers of Europe, he beheld an organised and successful insurrection in one of his provinces. The demands of the Adventurers and Ricos Hombres had exhausted in a few months the unexpected resources he owed to the capture of Don Pedro's treasure. He was aware that his rapid success was in a great measure owing to the general lassitude and weariness to which the long war with Aragon had reduced Castile; and he

* Don Juan, Don Enrique's eldest son, who with his mother and the Princess Leonor had lately come out of Aragon, was recognized by this Cortes, heir to the Castilian throne. *Mariana*, Lib. xvi. cap. v.—*T.*

now had reason to apprehend that the people, already discouraged, would refuse to make the fresh sacrifices required by a war much more dangerous. The most sincere of Don Enrique's allies, the King of France. was not in a condition to lend him very efficacious assistance; the King of Navarre had openly betrayed him; lastly, the King of Aragon instead of sending reinforcements threatened to recall the Marques de Villena,* and imperiously required the execution of the treaty which was to deliver up to him half Castile.† If Enrique had consented to such a partition, he would have exposed himself to the hatred, contempt, and desertion of his new subjects. He therefore, whilst lavishing upon Pedro IV. expressions of respect and gratitude, invented excuses for not ceding the provinces he had promised. But just seated on the throne, he said, he did not dare to shock the national pride, which it especially behoved him not to offend. When victory had given him some moments of tranquillity, he would gladly fulfil his engagements. Don Enrique also refused, and in his position the refusal was an act of courage and generosity, to deliver up to Pedro IV. the Conde de Osuna, the son of Bernal de Cabrera, who being recently in the service of Don Pedro, was in the list of proscribed Aragonese.‡ By temporizing and

* We have seen that the Conde de Denia had received from Don Enrique this new title.

† Arch. gen. de Arag. Instructions to the Aragonese ambassadors. Without date; probably July, 1366, Reg. 1293. Secretorum, p. 127.

‡ Id. ibid. Zurita, t. II. p. 344.

appealing to Pedro IV's cooler judgment, Don Enrique persuaded him not to recal the little body of Aragonese troops under the command of the Marques de Villena, and to continue to treat him as an ally. It was important that England should behold the two greatest kingdoms in Spain united against the deposed sovereign. But of all Don Enrique's auxiliaries, the most powerful was the terror with which the return of the implacable Don Pedro inspired the nobility, and the town councils. After her rebellion against a king who never forgave an injury, Castile had no hope except in the triumph of the chief whom she had just chosen. Thus, notwithstanding the general distress, the Cortes readily engaged to furnish the subsidies required by Don Enrique. They voted unanimously a new tax, by which a denier per maravedi was raised upon every sale. This impost, which was vigorously enforced, produced in the year 1366 about nineteen millions of maravedis, a large sum for that period.* It was then less difficult to procure soldiers than subsidies. The nobility ran to arms with enthusiasm, and the various princes sent numerous recruits to Burgos.† The remembrance of the devasta-

* Ayala, p. 426.

† It was at this time that Don Enrique granted the town of Miranda de Ebro to Burgos, partly in acknowledgment of the services rendered to him by the citizens of the latter place, and the expenses incurred at his coronation, partly as an equivalent for the town of Briviesca, a former dependency of Burgos, which the new king had bestowed upon Pero Fernandez de Velasco, his lord-chamberlain. He also directed that a sum of sixty thousand maravedis should be annually divided amongst the prebendaries of

tions committed by the Adventurers incited the peasants to a courageous defence of their hearths against a fresh foreign invasion.

Don Enrique, by nature courteous and affable, spared no pains to conciliate the affection of his subjects; but it was a difficult task to satisfy a proud nobility, who became the more exacting as their services became more necessary. The extreme susceptibility of the Ricos Hombres gave him continual trouble and annoyance. A Zamoran hidalgo, who had repaired to Burgos to make some request of the king, was repulsed by the usher of the palace. The hidalgo, enraged at the affront, swore to avenge it. He immediately returned to Zamora, excited his fellow citizens to revolt, and proclaimed Don Pedro. The castle, it will be recollected, still held out for that prince; but it had been in some measure kept in a state of siege by the town, and the garrison was reduced to act on the defensive. On the renewal of friendly relations with the burghers, they made incursions into the province, and soon joined the malcontents of Galicia. A few troops sent from Burgos

the cathedral. Ayala, p. 427. The then Bishop of Burgos, was Don Domingo, who owed his elevation to the episcopal dignity to himself alone. On the death of his predecessor, Don Fernando, the votes of the chapter were divided; it was, therefore, agreed that whomsoever the canon Dominic, who was reputed a holy and conscientious man, should name should be elected. The canon accordingly, without taking account of either of the candidates nominated himself, saying: "Obispo por obispo seaselo Domingo," "Since there must be a bishop, let Domingo be bishop," which saying passed into a proverb. *Mariana*, Lib. XVII. et VIII.

were defeated, and the insurrection growing gradually bolder, made rapid strides into the north of the kingdom of Leon.*

In the general disorder all means to win the people's favour, and to ensure their obedience seemed lawful. We have seen that Don Tello, having married the heiress of Lara, held in her right the lordship of Biscay. This lady having died the prisoner of Don Pedro, without leaving offspring, Don Enrique had restored to his brother that rich inheritance which had been united by Don Pedro to his crown. This gift had been made in direct opposition to the customs of the province, and in contempt of the vote passed in the diet of Guernica in 1357, when the Biscayan deputies had chosen the King of Castile for their lord. Don Tello was not ignorant that his sole title to the lordship of Biscay was in his vassals' eyes, his alliance with the house of Lara, and now that this alliance was terminated, he doubted whether they would confirm the decision of Don Enrique. All at once it was reported that a female had appeared at Seville, bearing the name of Doña Juana de Lara, Lady of Biscay. She was immediately summoned to Burgos, and there Don Tello, who doubtless knew better than any one else the origin of this pretended princess, publicly acknowledged her as his wife, and neglected no opportunity of accrediting the story she had spread concerning her mysterious disappearance and deliverance. He lived for some time with her, treating her as his wife, until at last the death of the

* Ayala, p. 429, and following.

real Doña Juana having been clearly and satisfactorily authenticated, the imposture seemed likely to prove more injurious to him than the truth itself.*

* Ayala, p. 427. Ayala relates that Don Martin Lopez de Cordova, after the capture of Carmona, confessed that Doña Juana was dead, and pointed out the spot where she had been buried.—*T.*

CHAPTER IX.

INTERVENTION OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1367.

I.

Two vast armies were now assembled north and south of the Pyrenees, both of them guarding the Navarrese frontier. From Guyenne into Castile there was then only one road practicable for horses; namely, that which commencing at St. Jean Pied de-Port, enters the famous valley of Roncesvalles,* and after crossing the mountains by a steep and narrow pass follows the course of the Arga, and finally opens upon Pamplona. The valley of Roncesvalles terminates in a defile so narrow that it might be defended by a handful of men, and all

* The scene of the defeat of the Franks, under Charlemagne, by the Spaniards and Moors, and the tomb of the famous Roland, whose madness, according to Mr. Thomas Carlyle, was the result of constipation—not love, and who here fell by the hand of Bernardo del Carpio. "This last invincible cavallero is," writes Doctor Southey, "one of those personages whom Ferreras would annihilate—which is as unreasonable, as it would be to believe all that the ballad makers have sung concerning them. The main difficulty of his history is obviated, if the authority of those chronicles be admitted which affirm that the French suffered a second defeat at Roncesvalles under Charles the Bold."—*Chronicle of the Cid*, p. 431.

Spaniards know that it has been, and may be again, the tomb of a foreign army. This pass belonged to the King of Navarre; it depended upon that prince's pleasure whether the entrance to Castile should be closed or opened to the English. It need not therefore be a matter of surprise that his alliance should be so eagerly sought, so dearly purchased by Don Pedro. On his side, Don Enrique had not lost all hope of obtaining either the assistance or the neutrality of the Navarrese king. Besides a considerable sum of money, he offered Carlos the province of Logroño, and a part of Alava and Guipuzcoa, that is, very nearly the same cession of territory which his adversary had promised. In this way it was proposed to restore to Navarre the provinces which had anciently formed a part of that kingdom.*

* Logroño had been wrested from Navarre by Alfonso VI. of Castile in 1076. Yanguas, "Antiguedades de Navarra," t. II. p. 203. The province of Guipuzcoa enjoys in many respects the same privileges as Biscay. We are told by the Marques de Mondexar, in his "Historical Memoirs of the Life and Actions of Alfonso the Noble," eighth prince of that name, that the province of Guipuzcoa, possessed at the commencement of his reign by the King of Navarre, although governed in fealty by different rich men of the land, "became, in the year 1200 united with Castile through the will of its inhabitants." He afterwards states, "that the people sent envoys to King Alfonso to treat of their intentions, signifying that if he would come among them, to concert and agree respecting their union, they would separate from Navarre." Mondexar, ch. LXXVII. The King of Castile gladly responded to their wishes, and repaired to Guipuzcoa, where, in the terse language of the historian, "they settled their matters and covenants." He subsequently adds, "the conditions of this

Carlos was greatly embarassed by these rival offers.

contract, eventually signed and concluded on the 8th of October, 1238, corresponding to 1200 of the Christian æra, are preserved in the original instrument, afterwards published by Father Luiz de Vega, a Jeromite monk, and quoted by Estevan de Garibay in his Chronicle. It would be superfluous," concludes the Marques, " to repeat the conditions, when it will suffice to say, that the same exemptions and privileges which they still enjoy were granted to the natives.

" In virtue of this compact, the Guipuzcoans still hold their privileges, and the charter granted them by King Alfonso details the circumstances which led to the union, and is, or was preserved till lately, in the general archives of the province. This singular and interesting document sets forth that the Guipuzcoans were induced to withdraw their allegiance from the King of Navarre, and transfer it to the Sovereign of Castile, because the Navarrese Monarch, in direct contravention of their laws, and disregarding their ancient right of free election, had illegally endeavoured to nominate, by his sole authority, a chief magistrate for their state, to the exclusion of the individual chosen by their General Assembly, held annually at Tolosa and Durango, according to the ancient custom of the land. Upon this account they withdrew their fealty from him, and transferred it to the King of Castile, who, in return, guaranteed to them their ancient rights, and confirmed them by a charter." Mondexar, note to chap. LXXVII.

The province of Alava has its own constitution, not, however, differing substantially from those of Biscay and Guipuzcoa. In 1332, this province acknowledged Alfonso XI. as their lord. The deputies empowered to treat with this sovereign as their lord found him at Burgos, where they made him a formal tender of the county. (Chap. C. of " Cronica de Don Alfonso XI. de Castilla," by Cerda y Rico, ed., Madrid, 1787.) He immediately hastened to Arriaga, where the general assemblies of the country were convened on great occasions, and there, in the presence of the Hidalgos, and the Prelate of Calahorra, and the assembled people,

He had received 56,000 florins from Don Pedro, 60,000

he entered into a solemn compact, that neither he nor his successors would ever alienate *any part of the land of Alava;* that neither he nor they would ever give laws to the Alavese (Mariana, Lib. II, Cap. 20), but would engage to maintain, for the benefit of all, the *fueros* and freedom of the country, as then established; that the Alavese should be exempt from every sort of contribution and personal service from which they had been free before (Mariana, Lib. II, Cap. 20), and that the hidalgos should retain undisturbed possession of their lands, woods, and forests; that although the King reserved to himself the lordship, and the justice, and the 'Ox of March' (this has reference to some old feudal reservation, though I have not been able to discover the exact nature of the custom), the Governors of their towns should be spontaneously chosen by the freemen of the soil; that the *Merino*, or judicial officer appointed by the Crown, should be a noble of Alava, and that, except in certain specified cases, he should not proceed against any of his countrymen, unless they had been previously committed by their own *Alcaldes*; that the King, having no dominion over the province, as property of his own, should not be at liberty to give possession of it to any individual, nor even to issue orders for the erection of any town or village.

Finally, they declared, that in case these rights, or any portion of these rights, should be infringed, the nobles, or Infanzones, should be forthwith absolved from their sworn allegiance, and each and every Alavese be authorized to take up arms, pursue and kill the offender. (Garibay, v. II, Book XIV, Cap. VII. Zamacola, "Historia de las Naciones Bascas," tom. II, Cap. 2). To these articles the King subscribed, and upon these terms it is stated, in the lofty style of Castile, that the hidalgos consented that we should have the lordship of the county of Alava, and that it should be royal, and they put it in the crown of our kingdoms for us, and for those who shall reign after us in Castile and Leon. (Contract between Alfonso XI. and the Hijosdalgos of Alava, made at Vittoria, on the 22nd of April, 1332, Zamacola.) Ma-

doubloons from Don Enrique.* He would fain discover which party was the stronger, which of the two pretenders to the Castilian throne was more likely to make good his words. He had scarcely signed the treaty of Libourne with Don Pedro than he opened another negociation with Don Enrique. Oaths cost but little, he was therefore prodigal of them. In a conference which took place secretly between the two princes at Santa Cruz de Campeszo, the Navarrese monarch swore on the Holy Gospels the contrary to that which he had called heaven to witness at Libourne; he was bound by this last oath to close the pass of Roncesvalles, to join all his forces to those of Don Enrique, and even to uphold that prince's cause *with his own body in the battle-field.* One name only had to be changed, Carlos had merely to transcribe his treaty of Libourne; he was however constrained to give sureties, and to this he readily consented. Three of his castles in Navarre were placed in the hands of three nobles as witnesses and guarantees of the convention; they were the Archbishop of Zaragoza, Ramirez de Arellano, a Navarrese knight in the service of Castile, and, lastly, Bertrand Du Guesclin, who had just arrived in Spain with some French and Breton volunteers.†

So long as the two armies remained inactive, Carlos had not much difficulty in playing his part with the

riana confirms the principal articles of the compact, and states that the compact itself was existing in his time. (Lib. II. cap. 2, de la impress. de Madrid, del año de 1617.) Lord Carnavon, p. 318, and following.

* Ayala, p. 435, Abrev.

† Ibid., p. 435.

two rival brothers, repeating to each the same promises, the same oaths. But at last the decisive moment arrived. Notwithstanding the severity of the winter, the Prince of Wales advanced towards the Pyrenees, and at the end of January, 1367, all his troops were set in motion. A few days later the King of Navarre attempted to arrest his progress under twenty different pretexts. But the Prince of Wales was not a man to be put off by evasions; the English vanguard suddenly quitted St. Jean Pied de Port, resolved to force the pass of Roncesvalles if the Navarrese dared to dispute it with them. In this extremity Carlos, anxious to keep up appearances to the last, issued, at the same time, orders to defend the pass, and contrary orders to allow it to be surprised. And when summoned by Don Enrique and Don Pedro respectively to join their armies, and personally to share the combat in conformity with his oaths, he hit upon the following expedient for deceiving both his allies, and enabling him eventually to protest fidelity to him whom the fortune of war might favour.

Olivier de Mauny, a Breton knight, with certain men-at-arms, occupied the castle of Borja in Aragon, on the Navarrese frontier. He held it for his cousin, Bertrand Du Guesclin, to whom, during the preceding year, the King of Aragon had granted investiture of this domain. He was a good *lance*, a true soldier of fortune, one who regarded war merely as the means of obtaining wealth, consequently a man whom the King of Navarre could properly appreciate. After a secret conference with Mauny, Carlos left Tudela for a hunting party on the Aragonese frontier, at the very moment

that the English army was forcing its way through the valley of Roncesvalles. The king, being separated from the main body of his huntsmen, was suddenly surrounded by Breton men-at-arms, commanded by Mauny, who took him prisoner and led him to Borja; asserting their right thus to act, inasmuch as the king had violated his oath of neutrality by permitting the passage of the Prince of Wales. In reality this ambuscade had been concerted between the king and the Breton Adventurer. Carlos had arranged with him to remain his prisoner until the issue of the campaign, and to reward the complaisance of his jailor by paying him an annual rent of 3000 francs, besides the town of Guibray, in his Norman domains.* It may be asked how far this disloyal transaction could remain unknown either to Du Guesclin, whose lieutenant Mauny was, or the King of Aragon, of whom the two Bretons were liegemen. The astute policy of Pedro IV., and the rapacity of the Adventurers authorize all kinds of suspicions, but contemporary authors have been content to accuse Olivier de Mauny alone, and at this distance of time we can but imitate their reserve. Martin Enriquez, lieutenant-general of the kingdom of Navarre, on learning the captivity of his master, protested against his arrest, which he declared disloyal; and acting probably in accordance with instructions he had received beforehand, joined the English army near Pamplona, with three hundred lances. Had the Prince of Wales been forced to recross the mountains, Carlos

* Ayala, p. 436. Froissart, l. 1, second Part, chap. ccxxiv.

would doubtless have denied his having sanctioned this proceeding.

As there was now open war between England and the King of Castile, Sir Hugh de Calverley, who under his new title of Conde de Carrion, had hitherto remained with Don Enrique at Burgos, requested his dismissal, together with permission to rejoin the banner of the Prince of Wales, his natural lord. According to agreement, the English Adventurers were to bear arms against all the enemies of the King of Castile, save the King of England and his son. Both parties behaved with courtesy and loyalty. The English captain alleged his oath, expressed his lively regret, and offered to become the bearer of terms of accommodation to the Prince of Wales. Sir Hugh had only three or four hundred lances with him, and it would have been easy to have overpowered him. Don Enrique acted generously; he thanked De Calverley for his past services, and dismissed him with magnificent presents, although without any hope that his interference would prove successful.

II.

When intelligence arrived that the English had entered Spain, all Don Pedro's partisans took courage on the other hand, and the usurper's cause was weakened by some unexpected desertions. Several Castilian towns revolted, and six hundred horsemen, who had been despatched into the province of Soria, to reduce the town of Agreda, went over in a body to the rebels. Salvatierra* proclaimed Don Pedro, and opened its

* Salvatierra, a town of the province of Alava, which must not

gates to the scouts of the English army, ... ferent divisions were concentrated around Pamplona. Salvatierra is the first Castilian town on the road leading through the Alava to Burgos. Don Enrique, fully assured that the Prince of Wales would take this route, crossed the Ebro, near Haro, and encamped with all his troops at Treviño, a few leagues from Salvatierra. He then assembled all his captains in counsel, and communicated to them a letter addressed to him by the King of France, recommending him not to tempt fortune by venturing an engagement with so skilful a general as the Prince of Wales, and soldiers so formidable as his veteran bands.* Bertrand Du Guesclin, the Maréchal d'Audeneham and the majority of the French Adventurers seconded their king's counsel, frankly confessing that the English were invincible in a pitched battle. Du Guesclin advised that the invaders should be harassed by continual skirmishes, and gradually drawn into the interior of the country, where fatigue, the variableness of the climate, and the want of provisions, would soon thin the ranks of these fine troops; in a word, he proposed the same scheme which he himself executed some years later in France against a much larger English army. But this kind of warfare, although practicable in a country like France, faithful to its sovereign, and arming enthusiastically for the common defence, was hazardous in Castile, where the nation was divided between two pretenders to the throne. The

be confounded with Salvatierra in Aragon, which had been taken by the King of Navarre, in 1364.

* Ayala, p. 444.

Castilian captains represented, and not unreasonably, that if they retreated but one step, it would be considered an acknowledgment of weakness and inferiority; that the provinces ceded at the invasion, would immediately declare against Don Enrique, and the defection soon become general. They remembered how, in the preceding year, Don Pedro had lost his kingdom through not daring to risk an engagement; to imitate him now, was to prepare a similar fate for Don Enrique. After having silently listened to both these opinions, Don Enrique determined to adopt the bolder course. "Honour," he said, "forbade him to abandon to the vengeance of his enemies those cities and men who had sacrificed everything for his cause;" and to terminate the discussion, he declared that he was resolved to commit himself to God, who would judge between him and his rival. Nevertheless, that he might, as far as possible, combine prudence with hardihood, he posted his army on the mountains which separate Alava from the province of Burgos, thus occupying all the hills. Then concentrating the main body of his forces at Zaldiaran, in a very strong position, chosen by Du Guesclin, he waited until the English should attempt to force it.* In the same manner, he covered the capital of Old Castile, the object of all his enemy's efforts, he even offered battle to the Prince of Wales, the chances, however, being all in his own favour, for Don Enrique's light infantry, accustomed to mountain warfare, could not but have the advantage over

* Ayala, p. 445. Froissart, Book I., p. 2, chap. CCXXIX.

heavily armed troops, fighting in a country entirely new to them.

Don Pedro had promised the English an easy victory; the reception that they had met with at Salvatierra had given them a false idea of the disposition of the country towards them, and they pressed forward full of confidence. A severe check soon proved to them that their enemy was not to be despised. Whilst their foragers were scattered over the plain of Alava, Don Tello, with a large body of cavalry, composed of French men-at-arms and Castilian genetours, suddenly burst upon them, killed or made prisoners a great number of men, and spread the alarm even as far as the quarters of the Duke of Lancaster, who commanded the English vanguard. Having effectively cleared the plain, the cavalry falling back in the direction of the mountains, unexpectedly met, near Ariñiz, two leagues from Vittoria, a hostile troop, which under the command of Sir Thomas Felton, the seneschal of Guyenne, was a considerable distance from the main body of the English army. Felton had only two hundred men-at-arms and as many archers, but without appearing dismayed, at seeing himself surrounded by more than three thousand horse, he made his men-at-arms dismount, and ranged them under a steep hillock. The seneschal's brother, William Felton, alone would not quit his horse. Lowering his lance, he threw himself amidst the Castilians and at the first onslaught, pierced a man-at-arms in steel armour through and through. He was immediately cut to pieces. His comrades, crowding around his banner, fought for a long time with the courage of despair, and several hours elapsed before their lines were broken. At

last the Adventurers, headed by the Maréchal d'Audeneham, and the Bègue de Vilaines, dismounted, and forming themselves into a column, broke the English phalanx; whilst the Castilian genetours charged it in the rear. In the first flush of victory all were put to the sword, nevertheless the heroic resistance of this small body of English men-at-arms struck their enemies with admiration. The remembrance of the glorious defeat of Felton is preserved in the province, and to this hour the Spaniards point out the hillock near Ariñiz, where the English knight fell pierced with a hundred wounds, after having fought almost the whole day. The spot is called in the language of the country *Inglesmendi*, the mount of the English.*

The Prince of Wales and Don Pedro being warned of the enemy's presence by the precipitate flight of their foragers, now hastened to range their troops in battle array on the heights of San Roman, not far from Vittoria. Their rearguard was still seven leagues from the main body of the army, and they felt sure that Don Enrique would pursue his advantage. "This day," says Froissart, "the prince was heavy at heart, because of the non-arrival of his rearguard." However, he had resolved not to refuse battle, and his presence of mind did not desert him for a moment. On the eve of a battle, it was customary for the chiefs of the army to give the young gentlemen who had not yet been created knights the accolade, to gird them with a sword, and put spurs on their feet. Such was the

* Ayala, p. 447. Froissart, Book I, p. 2, chap. ccxxvi—xxviii.

ceremony which conferred the title of knight, a title already becoming of slight importance, and which at most only served to prove that he who bore it had been present at a battle. Don Pedro was desirous of receiving the order of knighthood from the hands of Prince Edward, who afterwards conferred it on his son-in-law, Prince Thomas of Holland, and several other young lords. More than three hundred esquires were created knights that day, either by the prince, the new knights, or the principal captains of the English army.*

* Froissart, l. 1, ch. 226. The proud character of Don Pedro easily leads us to imagine that he would not deign to be the god-child in chivalry of every man, and remembering his isolated position at the time of his accession, surrounded by the creatures of Alburquerque, it is not unlikely that he preferred following the example of the Infante Hernando de Castilla, who when he was elected King of Aragon, knighted himself on his coronation, to the great consternation of his nobles. The importance that Don Pedro, throughout his whole career, attached to chivalric customs and virtues, the indignation he exhibited at Cigales, on beholding the colours of his Order of the Scarf worn unlawfully, as he thought, the severity with which he punished the disloyalty of the esquires at Cabezon, and the unwonted silence with which he submitted to the charge of abetting unknightly conduct when presiding over the lists of Seville, forbid us to suppose, that until his visit to the English Prince, he had remained no cavallero. The probability is, that the king, now in the company of the first knights in the world, might learn from some casual expression, that they did not consider him as one of themselves. Don Pedro, thus reminded of the dictum of his royal predecessor, the Emperor Alfonso, who lays it down in his "Sieta Partidas," that a knight can no more knight, than a priest ordain himself, might desire, to prevent all further remark, to receive the Order from the hands of the great captain of the age.—*T.*

But it was not upon this ground that these young warriors were to win their spurs. Don Enrique remained immovable upon the heights commanding the road to Burgos, and fully determined not to quit so excellent a position. Edward was too experienced a general to attack him. He resolved to seek a battle-field elsewhere.

But for the defections of which we have spoken, the opening of the campaign was anything but encouraging for the English army. A large number of sick had already been left behind. The snow, the change of climate, and scarcity of food, had already destroyed many of their horses.* The soldiers, at first full of confidence, began to regard with awe those inaccessible mountains, whose summits were ever veiled in thick mists, and to fear engaging in this guerilla warfare, to them as harassing and unsatisfactory as it was novel. Marauding and foraging parties were out of the question while they were hemmed in by the Castilian genetours, and the active mountaineers of Biscay. The Prince of Wales, at last seeing it impossible to maintain his troops in the Alava, through want of provisions, re-entered Navarre, with the intent of invading Castile by another road. The town of Logroño, which had remained faithful to Don Pedro, has a bridge over the Ebro, which opens a passage from Navarre into Castile. By taking this road, travellers may avoid the dangerous

* Froissart, lib. I, chap. ccxxx.

Dit li quens d'Ermignac—
S'est la terre d'entour de tous biens esseulée,
Si con ne puet trover une pomme parée.

Chron. de Du Guesclin, v. 11342

passes presented by the mountains to the south of Vittoria, and thus arrive more surely, although more slowly, at Burgos. It was, therefore, towards Logroño that the English army marched on quitting Alava. As soon as Don Enrique became aware of this movement, he recrossed the Ebro, and gained Najera, which is the first Castilian town on the road to Burgos after passing Logroño. He pitched his camp near the town, in the very place which had been the scene of his defeat in 1360. The Najerilla, a narrow river enclosed by high banks, one of the tributaries of the Ebro, furnished him with a natural entrenchment. The English were already on the right side of the Ebro, occupying the village of Navarette. There was only a distance of four or five leagues between the two armies.*

On the first of April, 1367, a herald from the Prince of Wales arrived at the Castilian outposts, and delivered to Don Enrique a letter from his master. The prince, desiring if possible to avoid bloodshed, besought him, in the name of God and St. George, to resign his pretensions to the Castilian crown, and on this condition, promised that Don Pedro should restore him to favour, and grant him a position in the kingdom suitable to his rank; should he, on the contrary, persist in his usurpation, the prince would defy him, and commit his cause to the judgment of Heaven.†

* Ayala, p. 447. Froissart, t. 1, ch. 230.

† "Edward, by the grace of God, Prince of Wales and Acquitayne, to the Right Honourable and renowned Enrique, Erle of Christemar, who at this present tyme calleth himselfe Kyng of Castell: Syth it is so that you have sent to us your letters by your heraud, wherin were conteyned dyvers artycles, makyng

In accordance with chivalric usages, Don Enrique made the herald a valuable present; he then assembled the chief of his Castilian and foreign captains, and consulted them on the reply which it behoved him to send the Prince of Wales. The majority were of opinion that he should return none, since the English prince had not written to the King of Castile, and it was unnecessary for Don Enrique to take cognizance of a letter addressed to the Conde de Trastamara. Others, on the contrary, contended that on the eve of a decisive engagement, an excess of courtesy could not be construed into pusillanimity. The latter opinion eventually prevailed, and we transcribe the reply sent by Don Enrique to the Prince of Wales.

"Don Enrique, by the grace of God, King of Castile and Leon,* to the very high and mighty Lord Don

mecyon how ye wolde gadly knowe why we take to our frede and louer your enemy, our cousyn the Kynge Dapeter; and by what tytell we make you warr, and are entred with an army royall into Castell; we answere thereto, knowe ye for trouthe it is to sesteyne the right, and to maynteyn reason, as it aperteyneth to all kynges and princes so to do; and also to entertayne the great alyances that the Kyng of England, my dere father, and King Dampeter have had longe togyder; and bycause ye are renomed a ryght valyat knyght, we wolde gladly an we coude, accorde you and hym togyder; and we shall do so moche to our cosyn Dampeter, that ye shall have a great partie of the realme of Castell; but as for the crowne and heritage, ye must renounce. Sir, take consayle in this case, and as for our enteryng into Castell, we wyll enter ther, as we thynke best, at oure owne pleasure. Written at Groynge, the xxx day of Marche. Ld. Berners.' Froissart, vol. I, ch. 231.

* It will be remarked that Don Enrique assumes no other title than those of King of Castile and Leon. According to the

Edward, eldest son of the King of England, Prince of Wales and Guyenne, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, greeting. We have received through your herald a letter from you, in which are contained many things evidently reported by our adversary, and which prove to us that you have not been correctly informed of the truth. Know then that, ever since the time, when many years ago, Don Pedro took possession of these kingdoms, he has governed them in such a manner that all men who are well acquainted with him are astonished that he has been suffered to reign so long. 'Now, in this kingdom of Castile he has slain Queen Doña Blanche de Bourbon, his lawful wife; he has slain Queen Doña Leonor de Aragon, his aunt, sister to King Don Alfonso, his father; he has slain Doña Juana and Doña Isabel de Lara, daughters of Don Juan Nuñez, Lord of Biscay, his cousins; he has slain Doña Blanca de Villena, daughter of Don Fernando, Lord of Villena, to the end that he might inherit the lands of those noble ladies, and has actually annexed them to his own domains; he has slain three of his brothers, Don Fadrique, Master of Santiago, Don Juan, and Don Pedro; he has slain Don Martin Gil, Lord of Alburquerque; he has slain his cousin, Don Juan, Infante of Aragon; he has slain many knights and esquires belonging to the first families of these kingdoms; he has slain, or forcibly carried off several noble

ordinary protocol, he ought to have subjoined those of the King of Toledo, Galicia, Seville, Cordova, Murcia, Jaen, Algarve Algeciras, Lord of Biscay and Molina. It may be imagined that these titles were suppressed to please the King of Aragon, to whom he had promised to cede the kingdom of Murcia.

ladies, some of them married; he has usurped the rights of the Pope and other prelates.' For these excesses, which it would take too much time now to enumerate, God in his mercy has permitted that the whole country should testify its resentment, lest the evil should go on increasing day by day. And although in his dominions there lived not a man who was not obedient to him, and though all his people were ready to serve and assist him in defending his states, God pronounced sentence against him, so that of his own free will he deserted his kingdom, and fled. On his departure, the kingdoms of Castile and Leon were filled with joy and gratitude, praising God for His mercy in having delivered them from so hard and cruel a master. Freely, and of their own accord, they then came to us, and chose us for their lord and king, the prelates as well as the cavalleros, the hidalgos, the commons, and all the cities of the kingdom. There is nothing in this to excite surprise, for in the time when Spain was conquered by the Goths, from whom we claim descent, such was the custom. They elected and took for their king him who seemed to them most worthy of reigning. This custom has long prevailed in Spain, and is in existence to this day, so that in the king's lifetime his subjects swear allegiance to his eldest son, a practice unknown in any other kingdom in Christendom. Therefore, for the causes aforesaid, we hold that we have a right to this country, which has been given us by the will both of God and man, and that you have no good reason for opposing us. And if we must fight, however displeasing it may be to us, honour commands that we should risk our own life for

the sake of these kingdoms, to which we are bound by so many ties, against whomsoever may come to assail us. And, therefore, by this present letter we counsel you, in the name of God and St. James his Apostle, that you do not with so powerful a force enter our dominions, for by so doing, you will compel us to defend them with our arms. · Written from our camp at Najera the 2nd day of April, 1367."*

* Ayala, p. 450, and following.

I have followed in my version of Don Enrique's letter, the reading furnished by that manuscript of Ayala which is generally known by the name of Abreviada, although the reading contained in other manuscripts is confirmed by the authority of Rymer. I must here confess that, notwithstanding the researches I have had made in London, I have been unable to discover the original document or copy of which the learned historiographer has made use. The letter published by Rymer, although similar in substance to the one I transcribe, differs from it considerably in the details. It does not include that long series of assassinations imputed to Don Pedro, nor the right peculiar to the Spaniards of electing their kings. Now it would be difficult to conceive for what reason Ayala should in his first edition have omitted these remarkable passages in Don Enrique's letter, whilst at the same time we may easily understand, that when the question of the succession to the Castilian throne had been definitively settled by the marriage of a grand-daughter of Don Pedro with the Infante Don Enrique, (of the house of Trastamara), every allusion to events which all parties would naturally desire to be buried in oblivion, should be suppressed. In a word, the letter transcribed from the abridged chronicle of Ayala has appeared to me more probable than the text of Rymer, because it bears the impress of the prevalent feelings of the age, and seems a suitable manifesto for a prince in such an equivocal position as Enrique was then placed. It is likely that an usurper would appeal to the ancient Gothic laws, which give the people the

I have considered it expedient to give entire this species of manifesto, which so clearly expresses the right of the Castilian people to elect their sovereign, dating that privilege from the earliest period. It is curious to compare this document with Don Pedro's letter to the King of England.' The first proclaims the sovereignty of the people, the second acknowledges that sovereignty by implication; both attest the opinion prevalent in Spain during the middle ages on a question so long and so hotly debated in later times.

The nature of the accusations brought against Don Pedro ought not to be passed over unnoticed. Probably in thus recounting these accumulated charges, charges including the murder of several defenceless women, Don Enrique's object was to rouse the generous spirit of Edward. Moreover, he takes no pains to prove what he advances, and the greater number of the crimes which he enumerates are far from being authenticated; some of them have not even been recorded by any historian, and are mentioned here for the first time. The death of Don Gil de Alburquerque, for instance, is attributed by Ayala to natural causes, and we know how carefully that chronicler has registered all the accusations alleged against Don Pedro. I search in vain also for any evidence implicating that prince in the death of Doña Blanca de Villena. To all appearance, Don Enrique only industriously repeated all the popular rumours afloat concerning his enemy.

right of electing their sovereigns, whilst his successors, when firmly seated on the throne, would have reasons of their own for forgetting these same laws. I have marked by inverted commas the passages in the *Abreviada*, which are found neither in Rymer nor in the *Vulgar* edition of Ayala.

It may seem strange that his manifesto should contain no allusion to the violation of the privileges of the nobility, which was, in fact, the principal cause of the hatred Don Pedro had incurred. Could it be, that having become a king himself, Don Enrique began to view such a crime with indulgence, or did he omit this accusation under the conviction that it would make little impression on the son of the King of England?

III.

Judging by the care taken by the new king to represent himself as constrained to repel an unjust aggression, it might be imagined that, were it only to keep up appearances to the last, he would await the English on the banks of the Najerilla, or that perchance he intended repeating the manœuvre which he had practised successfully at Zaldiaran. He did nothing of the kind. Immediately after forwarding to the Prince of Wales his reply, in which he declared that he was ready to abide the issue of a battle, he crossed the river which covered his position, and on the very same night succeeding the departure of the herald, he led his army into the plain between Najera and Navarrete. The captains of the Free Companies saw with regret their commander quit an advantageous position, and vainly endeavoured to change his resolution. But his success against the English vanguard had raised his courage, the number and military ardour of his soldiers inspired him with fresh confidence. Furthermore, his chivalric sense of honour made him look upon Edward's letter as a cartel of defiance, which

he could not without shame refuse. The die was cast. Both armies prepared for battle. On learning that the Castilian army was defiling into the plain, the prince, transported by this unexpected act of temerity, exclaimed, "By St. George! this bastard is a valiant knight!"*

The art of war had greatly degenerated during the middle ages. To the wise tactics of the Romans, who submitted the guidance of the largest masses to the command of one man, had succeeded a new and rude system of warfare, better suited to feudal anarchy. The fate of battles did not now depend upon the skill of the general, but upon the courage, and more especially the physical strength of his soldiers. The combatants no longer manœuvred; they met on a level plain, as in closed lists, and a battle was merely a duel on a large scale, in which superior skill with the sword, and muscular force decided the victory.

The armies of the middle ages being composed, for the greater part, of cavalry, possessed neither the activity nor the firmness of the Roman troops; and the difficulty of providing forage often caused the miscarriage of an expedition which had been prepared at great expense. The post of honour was confided to the men-at-arms, heavy iron statues, who for a few moments fell upon each other, but were unskilful in striking, and impenetrable when struck.† The first onslaught was seldom effective against these men, encased as they were from head to foot—in thick plates of iron or steel; their com-

* Froissart, L. I. chap. ccxxx.

† Inferendis ictibus inhabiles, accipiendis impenetrabiles. Tacitus, Ann. 3. 41.

pact battalions were, however, easily thrown into disorder. A few chiefs fell, two or three banners were overthrown; the weaker party, or the one soonest discouraged, turned their back and fled; then began the carnage. Every warrior found stretched upon the field was either slain or taken prisoner. Before the fallen man could rise, nailed to the ground as he was by the weight of his armour, he was slaughtered like a beast at the shambles, unless the richness of his accoutrements, or the arms emblazoned upon his vest led the victor to imagine that there was a possibility of ransom. During the march, the greater number of the soldiers, even the archers, were on horseback; but at the moment of a battle, the men-at-arms dismounted, took off their spurs, and shortened their lances. Every lord raised a banner, around which his vassals crowded. The victory won, the combatants remounted their horses; the vanquished to effect their escape, the conquerors to urge on the pursuit. Behind the heavy columns of the men-at-arms, or, to use the military language of the middle ages, behind the battalions, remained the esquires, holding by the bridle the horses they were to bring their masters at the critical moment. Thus Homer depicts the Grecian heroes as feeling on their shoulders the warm breath of their faithful coursers.*

The archers and men-at-arms in the Prince of

* Αλκίμεδον, μὴ δή μοι ἀπόπροθεν ἰςχέμεν ἵππους
Αλλά μάλ' ἐμπνείοντε μεταφρένῳ.
Iliad, XVII. 501.

Alcimedon, keep still thy horses near,
So that upon my back may fall their breath.
Hobbes of Malmesbury's Homer.

Wales's army were picked men, who had long been inured to war, and who had been present at many a great and glorious victory. Don Enrique's troops, on the contrary, were, for the greater part, composed of raw recruits; the infantry, especially, were as badly armed as undisciplined. He had but a limited number of crossbow-men, and the majority of his soldiers were peasants, who had been taken from the plough, and carried only slings and javelins. The cavalry was better equipped; it numbered, however, many more genetours than men-at-arms. In fine, the Castilian army, although formidable in skirmishes, and admirably adapted for mountain warfare, lost all its advantages when led into open field against well-disciplined bands from Guyenne. In the opinion of the French captains, it was the height of rashness to risk a pitched battle with the English. But the period for tendering advice was past. They were resolved to do their duty like courageous men, although unable to repress the most sinister forebodings.

IV.

The order to attack was delayed until the two armies should have entered the plain. Each formed itself into four corps or battalions. On Don Enrique's side, the vanguard, which was composed of French and Breton Adventurers, and the flower of the Castilian men-at-arms, was under the immediate command of Du Guesclin. Don Sancho, the king's brother, and the cavalleros of the Scarf, amongst whom was Ayala,*

* An annotator of Gracia Dei absurdly asserts that Pero Lopez de Ayala carried this day the banner of the Scarf. He

the historian, made part of this division, which was in no respect inferior to the English men-at-arms. A little in the rear, two large bodies of cavalry, barded horsemen, and genetours, flanked Du Guesclin's battalion of men-at-arms, who were to fight on foot. That on the left was under the command of Don Tello; while the one on the right had the Conde de Denia, now Marques de Villena, for its chief, and was composed of Aragonese auxiliaries, and cavalleros of the military orders. Between these two wings of cavalry, and in the second line, was ranged the fourth battalion, containing both infantry and cavalry; this the king commanded in person. The disposition of the English army was very similar, only that the men-at-arms of the three battalions in the first line were to dismount at the moment of action. In the centre, and opposite to Du Guesclin, might be seen the English and foreign Adventurers of all nations,* ranged under the banner of

evidently confounds the battle of Najera, with that of Aljubarrota.

The assertion of Dei Gracia's annotator is, however, supported by the authority of Ayala, who in his list of the several cavalleros present upon Don Enrique's side, expressly mentions himself, Pero Lopez de Ayala, as carrying the banner of the Scarf. *Cronica del Rey Don Pedro*, p. 441. *Vulgar.* The *Abreviada* too in enumerating the prisoners taken at Navarrete, gives the name of "Pero Lopez de Ayala que levaba el pendon de la Vanda," p. 456.—*T.*

* "Bretons," says Ayala; but the Adventurers were then commonly designated by that name in Spain, from whatever country they might come. The term Breton is often used synonymously with marauder, and shows the prevalent opinion then entertained of the compatriots of Du Guesclin. *Ayala*, p. 442.

the young Duke of Lancaster. The famous John Chandos, Constable of Guyenne, one of the best captains of his age, lent the young prince the aid of his experience, and was to initiate him into the art of war, as he had already done his brother, the Prince of Wales, to whom he had served as Mentor in the field of Poitiers. Near him might be seen Sir Hugh de Calverley, and the four hundred lances which he had again brought with him into Spain. They were now about to draw their swords against their former comrades. To the right of this corps, and opposed to Don Tello, were the Gascon men-at-arms, led by the Comte d'Armagnac and the Seigneur d'Albret. To the left, facing the Marques de Villena, the Captal de Buch, and the Comte de Foix*

* This is an oversight of M. Merimée. The Comte de Foix, indeed, offered the services of himself and vassals to the Prince of Wales, and in pursuance of that offer, a large body of the latter accompanied Edward into Spain, and at Navarrete, formed part of the left wing of the prince's army. The comte, however, personally remained in France, Edward having confided the government of Guyenne and the other English provinces to his care. *Berners' Froissart*, l. 1. chap. CCXXXII.

This great feudal noble is thus alluded to by M. Villemain, in his lectures upon the *Literature of the Middle Ages*. " Le Comte de Foix aimait les vers; il passait pour le prince le plus vaillant, le plus aimable et le plus généreux de son temps. On vantait sa courtoisie et sa magnificence. Enfin, on ne pouvait lui reprocher qu'une seule action: *il avait tué son fils*. Il n'y a pas, messieurs, dans ce langage une surprise premeditée, mais une expression des mœurs du temps. Il est vrai, ce crime épouvantable, qui ajoute tant à l'infamie de Philippe II. et qui souille toute la renommée de Pierre le Grand, le Comte de Foix l'avait commis; et telle était encore la barbarie des mœurs au XVIe siècle, que l'horreur natu-

ranged their vassals, as well as several bands of Adventurers. The fourth battalion, the most numerous of all, was formed of English, Castilians, and Navarrese. There, at the post of honour, floated the banner of Don Pedro with that of the Prince of Wales; that of the absent King of Navarre, which was borne by his seneschal, Martin Enriquez; lastly, that of the King of Naples, son of Don Jayme, the last King of Majorca, who had been deposed by Pedro IV. of Aragon. Ayala, an eye-witness, numbers the English force at ten thousand lances, and as many archers; that is to say, more than 40,000 fighting men. It should be remembered, that each lance consisted of several horsemen, the number varying from three to five.* He counts only four thousand five hundred lances in the Castilian

rellement attachée à un tel forfait disparaissait presque dans les qualités chevaleresques du prince, et que Froissard vous raconte cela sans indignation, sans effroi." Let those who would rashly pronounce judgment upon Don Pedro, remember the acts of treachery, faithlessness, and cruelty of the men of his age, who are generally accounted models of chivalric honour, let them call to mind the repeated duplicity of Du Guesclin, the horrible crime of that "*excellent prince*," the Comte de Foix, and alas! that we should have to say it, the wholesale slaughter committed by the express and reiterated orders of the Black Prince at Limoges. —*T.*

* "Each lance *fournie*, as it was called, implied a man-at-arms, two archers, a page, and two coutilliers. *See* Montiel, "Hist. des Francs de divers Etats," t. v. p. 398. "But at the time of which we now speak," (Mr. James is giving his version of the battle of Navarrete) "each man-at-arms was in general, though not always accompanied by two inferior soldiers." James' "History of Edward the Black Prince."

army, and does not mention the exact number either of the genetours, or of the infantry.*

Froissart, following the English account of the battle, gives Don Enrique 27,000 horse, and 40,000 foot.† He does not specify the number of English troops present at Navarrete, but, according to his statement, the English army, on its entrance into Spain, was composed of 27,000 horse, which, in a period of two months, had been much reduced by sickness and privation.‡ The exaggeration of Froissart's figures seems evident, but we may suspect that Ayala's patriotism has concealed the real force of the Castilian army. By comparing the two accounts, we may conjecture that the English possessed more men-at-arms than the Castilians; and that, on the other hand, the Castilians were stronger in infantry.

Both armies were in the open plain before dawn. In the disorder of a night march, a few genetours, as also the troop furnished by the concejo of San Esteban del Puerto, withdrew from Don Enrique's army, and joined Don Pedro, a desertion of slight importance in respect to number, but nevertheless alarming on account of the distrust it inspired throughout the army. Every man viewed his comrade with suspicion, and apprehended some treachery.

The English had had time to choose their position and study the ground. Their battalions were already under arms when Chandos passed through the ranks, and advanced towards the Prince of Wales, holding a

* Ayala, p. 413.

† Froissart, l. 1. p. 2. chap. CCXXXIV.

‡ Ibid, chap. CCXIX—CCXXI.

folded banner in his hand. "My lord," he said, "here is my banner, I place it in your hands. Is it your pleasure that I raise it to-day? God be praised I have such lands and heritage as become the state of a knight banneret." This title was given to those cavaliers who, being able to lead a certain number of soldiers to battle, enjoyed the privilege of unfurling their own flag, which was distinguished by its square form from the triangular pennon of a simple knight. Chandos had entered Spain followed by 1,200 pennons.* The prince gave the banner to Don Pedro, who unrolled it. The flag was blazoned with a sharp stake gules, on a field argent, and cut in a pointed form like a pennon. The king cut off the point with his poniard, and returned it by the haft to the new banneret.† "Raise your banner, Messire Chandos," he said, "may God grant it both fame and

* Froissart, l. i. p. 2. chap. ccxix.

† The degree of banneret or knight-banneret, to which Sir John Chandos was now elevated, was esteemed the most honourable in chivalry. To become a banneret, it was necessary that a knight-bachelor should be possessed of certain lands or revenues, and have distinguished himself in the battle-field. The degree could only be conferred in the presence of the king, or at least of his banner, and the person who was raised to the dignity, was entitled to bear in the field a square banner, upon which were inscribed his arms, and to command such knights, esquires, and soldiers, as he had furnished to his sovereign, so that in reality a banneret was the commander of a body of officers raised by himself, serving under his banner, and paid by the crown. Ashmole says, that from the manner of making a banneret, arose the old proverb, "Faire de pennon bannière," to express the advancement from an inferior to a higher dignity. Edmondson in his "History of Heraldry," dates the creation of knight-bannerets, from the year 736, but Camden does not trace their existence further back,

fortune," Chandos immediately carried it to the vanguard and made his companions swear to defend it as the sign which must henceforth be their guiding star.*

At daybreak Don Enrique discovered the English army already formed into line, and in admirable order. Banners and pennons of various colours fluttered above a forest of lances; all the men-at-arms had already dismounted. The Castilian vanguard hastened to imitate them; sent their horses to the rear, and advanced slowly and in good order; they then halted for a mo-

than the reign of Edward III. It is, however, generally imagined that bannerets formed part of the English army, in the reign of Henry III. or at least that of Edward I. In France, where the order was hereditary, it was certainly established in the reign of Philip Augustus, if indeed it did not exist earlier. The change in the mode of raising the English army, and the abolition of ancient feudal tenures, were the main causes of the extinction of the order of bannerets in this country. The last knight-banneret created in England, is generally thought to have been Sir John Smith, who rescued the royal standard at the fight of Edgehill, and was knighted by Charles; but unless the king presented him with a banner, and the formalities customary upon such occasions were gone through, which appears very doubtful, Sir John Smith may indeed have been created a knight, but assuredly not a knight-banneret. Sir Harris Nicholas' "History of the English Order of Knighthood," vol. i. Introduction.—*T.*

* And they toke it and were right joyfull thereoff, and sayd that by the pleasure of God and Saynt George, they wolde kepe and defende it to the best of their powers: and so the banner abode in the hands of a good Englysshe squyer called Wylliam Alery, who bore it that day, and acquayuted himself right nobly. *Berner's Froissart*, vol. i. cap. ccxxxvii.

ment, as if to collect all their strength before commencing the action. The Prince of Wales prayed most devoutly,* and, calling heaven to witness the justice of his cause, extended his hand to Don Pedro, saying, "Sir King, within an hour you will know if you are King of Castile." He then cried out, "Banners advance in the name of God and St. George." In the other camp Don Enrique, mounted on a swift and strong mule, according to the custom of the country,† rode through the lines of his army, exhorting his men to acquit themselves well, and promising to set them the example. The trumpets sounded the charge, and forthwith the two vanguards fell upon each other with great heartiness, the one shouting "King Enrique for Castile," the other, "St. George and Guyenne!" The English were distinguished by a red cross upon their white vests, and the Castilians by a scarf.‡ The English archers, generally placed in the front line, took no part in the battle on this occasion, either because the ardour of the two vanguards did not leave them time to use their arrows, or that the Prince of Wales feared to expose his archers to the fiery onslaught of the Castilian genctours.

* Very God, Jesu Christ who hath formed and created me, consent by your benygne grace that I may have this day victory of myne enemyes, as that I do is in a rightfull quarell to sustayne and to ayde this kynge chased out of his own herytage, the which gyveth me courage to auance myselfe to restablysshe hym agayne into his realme. *Lord Berners' Froissart*, vol. i. cap. ccxxxvii.

† Froissart, t. i. Part ii. cap. ccxxxiv.

‡ Ayala, p. 454.

The onset of the battalion, commanded by Du Guesclin, was so impetuous, as for a moment to break the enemy's line. A Castilian cavallero, named Martin Fernandez, who, according to Froissart, was much renowned among the Spaniards for courage and boldness, recognises Chandos in the press, and provokes him to single combat. They attack each other furiously; but their impenetrable armour resists the strongest blows. The Castilian, trusting to his gigantic strength, seizes his enemy by the arm, and hurls him to the ground; Chandos, however, when falling, makes a desperate effort, and drags his antagonist after him. For some time they struggle together in the dust, neither loosening his hold; but Martin Fernandez being uppermost, overpowers Chandos by his immense weight, and places his knee on his enemy's breast, upon which the Englishman, who had preserved his coolness throughout the whole of this obstinate struggle, draws his poniard, and seeks with its point some break in his opponent's armour. He at last finds a passage; he strikes with redoubled force. It is now only a lifeless mass which weighs him down; he pushes it on one side, and covered with gore, rises at the very moment his comrades had forced their way to the scene of this mortal encounter.* Meanwhile the English had retreated a few paces, and the French and Breton Adventurers were shouting victory, when the Comte d'Armagnac boldly advanced against the cavalry of Don Tello, who, either through treachery or a sudden panic, did not await the charge, but took to flight without even offering resistance. The Gascons, who

* Froissart, l. i. cap. ccxxxvi,

were on foot, not caring to pursue the flying genetours, immediately turned their face against Du Guesclin's battalion, and took it in flank. About the same time the Captal de Buch, who had just routed the other wing of the cavalry, executed the same manœuvre against the flank of the Castilian vanguard. Thus beset and surrounded on all sides, the French and Spanish men-at-arms pressed courageously around the banner of the Scarf, and fought for a long time against an enemy three times more numerous. It was in vain that Don Enrique himself, at the head of his mounted men-at-arms, several times charged to the rescue of his brave knights. He had soon to contend with the second line of the English army, led by the Prince of Wales in person. The Castilian infantry, whose slings had at first thrown the English into some slight disorder, disbanded, after receiving the murderous discharges of the English archers. From this period the battle was lost to Don Enrique. He, however, made a few desperate efforts to rally his soldiers, and bring them back to the charge. He was heard crying out to the fugitives, "Gallant sirs, what do you? Will you now betray me? you who have made me king. Turn again, and with God's assistance, the day shall still be ours."* As long as he perceived the banner of the Scarf still waving, he pointed it out to his men, and exhorted them, by his example and his cries, to aid its defenders; but at length the banner fell, and the disorder became general. Knights, foot-soldiers, all disband, and fly tumultuously across the plain. The English men-at-arms remount

* Froissart, l. i. cap. ccxxxix.

their horses, and drive before them a confused mass which crowds towards the entrance to the bridge of Najera, the sole refuge of this immense army. A sudden swelling of the Najerilla augmented the disaster. Men and horses threw themselves pell mell into the river, which became instantly red with blood, and cumbered with dead bodies. A few cavalleros, of the military orders, endeavoured to defend the bridge, and barricaded themselves in a large house at the entrance of the town, but they were soon forced from their position, and the enemy rushed into the streets. The approach of night, the fatigue of the victors, and the plunder which tempted them to remain in the town, and in Don Enrique's camp, saved the wreck of the Castilian army.*

Such was the battle of Najera or Navarrete—a battle even yet more decisive than bloody. The Castilians left on the field from five to six hundred men-at-arms, and seven thousand foot soldiers. The battalion of Du Guesclin alone had lost four hundred men-at-arms, the half of his force. By them only had the ground been gallantly disputed. The remainder were killed in the general rout, or drowned in the attempt to cross the Najerilla. According to Froissart, the Prince of Wales had only to mourn the loss of four of his knights, two Gascons, one Englishman, and one German, besides twenty archers and forty foot-soldiers.† I leave to the knightly chronicler the responsibility of this calculation, which appears surprising, even when we remem-

* Ayala, p. 453, 458. Froissart, l. 1. cap. ccxxxvi, ccxl.

† Froissart, t. 1. Part 1. cap. ccxli.

ber how greatly disproportionate in general was the loss of the vanquished to that of the victors in the battles of the middle ages. The number of prisoners was considerable. Bertrand Du Guesclin, the Maréchal d'Audeneham, the French captains; Don Sancho, Don Enrique's brother, Felipe de Castro, his brother-in-law, the Marques de Villena, all the cavalleros of the Scarf; lastly, all that remained of the Castilian vanguard, were in the hands of the English.* They were the best and most faithful soldiers in the service of the pretender.

Don Pedro, who during the fight had thrown himself into the thickest of the fray, continued for a long time in hot pursuit of the fugitives. He was seen galloping over the plain, mounted on a black horse, with the royal banner of Castile before him, seeking his brother wherever the battle raged most fiercely, and, excited by the carnage, crying out, "Where is this bastard who calls himself King of Castile?"† The English trumpets had long sounded the retreat when, exhausted by fatigue, he was forced at last to give up the pursuit. He was making towards the Prince of Wales's standard, which he perceived waving over a distant hillock, when he met a Gascon knight leading prisoner Iñigo Lopez de

* "This was," writes Michelet, "a proud day for the Prince of Wales. It was just twenty years since he had fought at Crecy, and ten since he had won the Battle of Poitiers. 'He gave and rendered ingementes of armes and of all thynges thereto aperteyninge, and ther kept felde and wage of batayle, wherefore it might well be sayd that all Spayne was come that day in his hands and under his obeysaunce.'"

† Froissart, vol. 1, ch. 1, p. ccxxxviii.

Orozco, formerly one of his familiar friends, but who had deserted him shortly after his flight from Burgos. At the sight of a man whom he had loaded with honours, and whom he now found in the midst of his enemies, the king in a transport of passion killed him with his own hand, despite the efforts of the Gascon knight to defend his prisoner. This was his first infringement of the promises he had made to the Prince of Wales. The English were indignant at this barbarous act of vengeance. Besides, to slay their prisoners, was to rob them of their expected ransom. Edward manifested great displeasure, and on the very field of battle where they had just won their common triumph, Don Pedro and his ally exchanged words of reproach and bitterness, the forerunners of that mortal aversion, which was soon to be displayed still more openly.*

The crown of Castile seemed lastingly assured to Don Pedro by the battle of Najera. One man alone judged more accurately, this was the Prince of Wales. When, on the day after the battle, the knights charged by him to examine the dead bodies and the prisoners, came to make their report to him, he asked in the Gascon dialect, which he habitually spoke, "E lo bort, es mort ó pres? And the bastard, is he dead or taken?" They replied that he had disappeared from the field, and that all traces of him had been lost. "Non ay res faït," cried the prince, "nothing then is done."† These words were prophetic.

* Ayala, p. 471. Pellicer, Justificacion de la Grandeza de Fernando de Zuñiga, &c., p. 21.

† Sumario de los Reyes de España, p. 70.

V.

Notwithstanding Edward's indignation on hearing of the murder of Lopez de Orozco, Don Pedro suffered it to be seen that his thirst for vengeance was not yet appeased. On the morning succeeding the battle the prisoners were led by in review. Nearly all had surrendered to English or Gascon knights, and were consequently safe under the protection of chivalric honour. Don Pedro, however, required that the Castilians should be placed in his hands, offering to pay their ransoms at any price which might be agreed upon, and requesting the prince to be his guarantee to the knights to whom these prisoners belonged. "I will speak to them," said he with a ferocious smile, "and will induce them to remain in my service. Otherwise, should they escape or pay their ransom, I shall find them still the bitterest of my enemies."—"Let not your majesty be displeased," replied the prince in a severe tone, "but you have no right to make this demand. These nobles, knights, or men-at-arms in my service fought for honour, and their prisoners are at their disposal. For all the gold in the world, my knights would not deliver them up to you, knowing well that your only motive for asking for these unfortunate men is, that you may put them to death. As for those knights, your vassals, against whom sentence of treason has been pronounced before this battle, I consent that they be given up to you."—"If this be your determination," cried Don Pedro, "I hold my kingdom more lost to me than it was yesterday. If you let these men live, you have done nothing

for me. Your alliance has been useless, and it is in vain that I have expended my treasure in paying your men-at-arms!"—"Sir cousin," returned Edward, "there are other means for recovering your kingdom than those by which you have thought to preserve Castile, and by which in fact you have lost it. Take my advice, renounce your past severity, and endeavour to win the love of the knights and commons of your realm. If you return to your former courses, you will again peril your crown, and will be reduced to such a position that neither my gracious liege, the King of England, nor myself, will be able to assist you, should we even have the will."*

During this altercation, the majority of the Castilian prisoners expressed their repentance, and entreated Don Pedro to pardon them. The king, declaring that he granted them his forgiveness out of respect for the Prince of Wales, consented to receive their oaths of fidelity for the future. He even embraced his brother, Don Sancho, and promised to forget his past conduct. Gomez Carrillo and Sancho-Sanchez Moscoso, Grand Commander of Santiago were, however, excepted from the amnesty, as having been declared traitors by public sentence passed upon them before the Revolution. They were delivered up to the king, who had them forthwith beheaded in front of his tent. Garci Jufre Tenorio, son of Admiral Don Alfonso Jufre,† was like-

* Ayala, p. 473.

† Alfonso Jufre had been put to death by the king's orders in 1358.

M. Merimée evidently here confounds the son with the father, both of whom bore the same name. Alfonso Jufre Tenorio, the

wise put to death a few days after, for the same reason. After these executions the two princes separated, each

father, was a celebrated admiral of Alfonso XI., and perished in 1338, in a naval engagement with the Moors, near Trafalgar, a place which seems to be fatal to his countrymen. He left several children, four of whom played conspicuous parts in the reign of Don Pedro, three of them dying by the hands of the executioner; the fate of the fourth, Juan, is unknown, as has been previously stated.

Another member of the Tenorio family, and a cousin of the unfortunate Garci, was also taken prisoner at Najera. He was then Bishop of Coimbra, but in the next reign was nominated by the Pope to succeed Don Gomez Manrique in the Archbishopric of Toledo. Pedro Tenorio was one of those ambitious priests who are ever engaged in political broils and intrigues. When the bastard's son, Juan I., died from a stumble of his horse, the Archbishop, who was on the spot, concealed the fact of the king's death till the succession of Juan's son was secured. By the deceased monarch's will, he was appointed one of a Council of Regency during Enrique III's minority. The Archbishop, however, soon contrived to gain the ascendancy over his brother regents. A proud and haughty man like Tenorio could hardly fail to make enemies, and the young king was by them induced to arrest the Archbishop. Castile was immediately laid under an interdict, and the king, and those of his Ricos Hombres and hidalgos who had counselled Tenorio's apprehension, excommunicated. Enrique, unlike his great uncle, Pedro, was now fairly frightened, submitted, and swore in the Cathedral of Burgos to be obedient to the Church, and make reparation to the Archbishop.

In 1399, Tenorio died at a very advanced age. He had lived, however, to witness the marriage of the Lady Catalina of Lancaster, Don Pedro's grand-daughter, to Enrique III., and the consequent reconciliation of the two branches of the Castilian royal family. Many of the noblest edifices in Spain still attest the power, taste and magnificence of Pedro Tenorio. *Vide* Mariana, LXIX.—*T.*

dissatisfied with the other. Don Pedro, together with Don Sancho, and Martin Lopez, Master of Alcantara, marched towards Burgos at the head of the English vanguard, whilst Edward slowly followed him with the rest of his troops.*

Whilst Don Pedro was cutting off the heads of his rebellious subjects, the Prince of Wales set an example of moderation which contrasted forcibly with the severity of the Castilian monarch. Among his prisoners was the Maréchal d'Audeneham, an old warrior sixty years of age, and until then esteemed a brave and loyal knight. Having been taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, fighting on the side of the King of France, he was admitted to ransom, and, conformably with the custom of the age and the habitual courtesy of the prince, he had been released before he had completely discharged his debt, on condition that he would not bear arms against the King of England or his son, excepting under the banner of the King of France, or a prince of his family. On recognizing d'Audeneham among the French, Edward knit his brow, and called him perjured and traitor. "Sire," said the old marshal, "you are the son of a king, and I can therefore make no reply save that I do not deserve the names you give me." "Well," said the prince, "are you willing to abide by the decision of a court of chivalry?" The marshal

* Ayala, p. 458. Froissart, l. 1, ch. CCXLII. Froissart relates that the king marched upon Burgos with the Master of Calatrava, but Padilla had not been present at the battle. The mistake arose from Martin Lopez having been shortly afterwards nominated Master of Calatrava.

readily accepted the offer. Twelve knights were nominated to hear the accusation, four of whom were English, four Gascons, and four Bretons. The prince, as accuser, spoke first. He repeated the oath taken by the marshal, and concluded by briefly stating that there being no prince of the royal house of France in the hostile army, the accused had broken his word and forfeited his honour. D'Audeneham pleaded his cause n person, and replied, that he had certainly sworn not to bear arms against the King of England or his son, but that he had not infringed his oath, for he had not drawn his sword against either of them. "Let not my lord be offended," said he, "but you are not the chief commander of the army against which I fought. You came upon this field as a captain in the pay of King Don Pedro, and it is against that king, the commander of your army, that I fought, I, a poor soldier of fortune in the pay of King Don Enrique." This argument, which may seem to us in the present day more subtle than just, being supported by the unblemished reputation of the old marshal, was favorably received. Everything contributing to establish that independence of which the nobles of the middle ages were so jealous, could not but please d' Audeneham's judges, who were like him, captains of Free Companies. He was unanimously acquitted. The prince himself, ever generous, unhesitatingly admitted a line of defence which robbed him of the glory of the victory of Najera, and reduced him to the rank of a mercenary. Far from betraying resentment, he loudly expressed his approbation of the judgment pronounced, and

assured the marshal that he restored to him his perfect esteem.*

VI.

Before relating the results of the battle of Najera, the fate of Don Pedro's rival should be made known. Borne along in the stream of fugitives, Don Enrique was leaving the field of battle, mounted on a barded charger, when he was met and recognized by one of his esquires, named Ruy Fernandez de Gaona, who, remarking that the king's steed could hardly walk, gave him his own, which was less heavily caparisoned; a few moments afterwards Gaona and Don Enrique's horse were taken by the English.† Thanks to his new courser, Don Enrique was enabled to outstrip his pursuers. After having crossed, not however without difficulty, the bridge of Najera, instead of taking the road to Burgos, he went in the direction of Soria, on the high road to Aragon. He felt assured that no city in Castile would venture to receive the vanquished prince. On the day succeeding the battle, attended only by three cavalleros who had rejoined him, he gained the Sorian territory, where a fresh danger awaited him. This province, which had been in open insurrection before his disaster, was overrun, in every sense of the word, by hostile bodies of troops. He was recognized by some horsemen, who, conjecturing his ill-fortune from the scantiness of his retinue, endeavoured to arrest him. He killed one of the assailants with his own hand, and forced the re-

* Ayala, p. 458, and following.

† Rymer, t. III, p. II, p. 132. "Memoranda de Conflictu Prænotato.

mainder to give him a free passage. On his safe arrival in Aragon, after escaping a thousand dangers, he was first received by Don Pedro de Luna, who afterwards became famous as the anti-pope, Benedict XIII., and who served him as guide across the mountains, and led him as far as Orthez. The Comte de Foix, the lord of the country, and a vassal of the King of England, although he was more interested than any one else in avoiding the risk of incurring the Prince of Wales's displeasure,* shewed the proscribed monarch no less respect on that account, but received him with all the honours due to his rank and misfortunes. He gave the fallen prince horses and an escort which enabled him to gain Toulouse; there at last Don Enrique could breathe freely.†

Don Tello, the misconduct of whose corps at Najera had aroused grave suspicions, appeared to belie them by his eagerness to screen himself from Don Pedro's vengeance. Like his brother, he at first sought an asylum in Aragon. It was here that all the chiefs of the vanquished party sought a retreat. On receiving intelligence of Don Enrique's defeat, his wife, Doña Juana, hastily took the same road, with the Infanta Leonor de Aragon, who was betrothed to her son.‡ A few days afterwards she entered Zaragoza with a mournful retinue of dames and maidens, exhausted by

* The Comte de Foix, as has been before mentioned, conjointly with Lord James Audley, governed Guyenne during the Prince's absence.—*T.*

† Ayala, p. 461—462.

‡ The intelligence of the victory at Navarrete was brought by Don Tello.

fatigue, and half dead with terror. Doña Juana was attended by the Archbishop of Zaragoza,* who had been charged by Pedro IV. not to leave her, and she was indebted to the presence of mind and devotion of that prelate for her escape from all the dangers which she encountered in her flight. No one had yet heard news of Don Enrique; and Don Pedro, in the letters he addressed to all the Castilian towns, stated that his enemy had fallen at Najera.† The fugitives were ill received at the court of Aragon. Pedro IV., already displeased with Don Enrique on account of his tardiness or bad faith in the execution of their treaties, openly abandoned him after his defeat, fearing, moreover, to embroil himself with the Prince of Wales. He hastened to take his daughter out of the hands of the princess whom, a few days before, he had called Queen of Castile. He now rejected all thoughts of an alliance with a house for ever fallen. Within a short time, Sir Hugh de Calverley, in the name of the King of England, and a Castilian lord, sent by Don Pedro, came to him, haughtily demanding the extradition or banishment of all members of the proscribed family, offering in return the friendship and alliance of the conquerors. Thanks to the energetic interference of the Aragonese nobility, Doña Juana and the exiled Castilians who had followed her, obtained a precarious hospitality for some little

* Lope Fernandez de Luna. Don Gomez Manrique, the Archbishop of Toledo, who, as well as the Bishop of Coimbra, had been present at the Battle of Najera, also accompanied Doña Juana in her flight.

† Cascales, "His. de Murcia," p. 148. Letter from Don Pedro to the Council of Murcia.

time. The powerful family of Luna, of which the Archbishop of Zaragoza was a member, boldly reproached the King of Aragon for sacrificing an ally who had rendered him such signal service to an implacable enemy, an enemy who during ten years had carried fire and sword into his kingdom: Pedro IV., however, piqued himself no more upon his generosity than upon his good faith. The battle of Najera was in his eyes the irrevocable condemnation of Don Enrique. He had no hesitation in commencing negociations with Don Pedro and the Prince of Wales. Besides, the Castilians themselves had set him the example of forgetting oaths. Burgos opened her gates before she was summoned; and the submission of the whole kingdom was even more rapid than its revolt had been a few months before. All endeavoured to disarm the victor's anger by the readiness and good will with which they submitted and returned to his yoke. A small number of Ricos Hombres either fortified their castles in defiance, or sought refuge in a foreign land; no one, however, thought of protesting against the decisive sentence which had gone forth from the banks of the Najerilla.

CHAPTER X.

RESTORATION OF DON PEDRO.
1367—1368.

I.

THE Prince of Wales entered Burgos a few days after Don Pedro. There the misunderstanding between the two allies broke out afresh, and in the most flagrant manner. The one complained bitterly that the Prince had sold his services too dear; the other, that the treaty of Libourne had not been faithfully observed. It was remarked that the Prince preferred lodging outside the town,* away from the king, who had taken up his residence in the castle; they seemed to regard each other with mutual distrust. Edward was no longer consulted upon any matter, Don Pedro, as in times past, desiring to govern alone. No sooner had they reached Burgos than he arrested the Archbishop Jean de Cardalhac,† a native of Gascony, and a relative of the Comte d'Armagnac, one of the principal chiefs of the English army. To render all intercession in his favour impracticable, the king sent him immediately to the castle of Alcalade Guadayra, in Andalucia, where he was con-

* The Prince resided in the royal monastery of Las Huelgas, as has been stated in a previous note.

† Archbishop of Braga.

fined in one of those subterraneous dungeons, the horrible invention of feudal despotism.* A short time afterwards, Diego de Padilla, the king's brother-in-law, and Master of Calatrava, was conducted to the same fortress. It has already been seen that Padilla had made his submission to Don Enrique, even before Don Pedro had quitted his dominions, and in consideration of his prompt defection had not been deprived of his high dignity, or rather Don Enrique had abstained from pronouncing definitively between him and Pedro Moñiz, who also assumed the title of Master of Calatrava.† Padilla had sought to elude public notice by retiring to the castles of his order. When the approach of the English had obliged Don Enrique to assemble his forces, Don Diego de Padilla, by repeated delays, contrived to remain in the rear, and took no part in the battle of Najera. When informed of the result, he hastened to Don Pedro at the head of about two hundred cavalleros of his order, whom, he said, he had summoned to fly to the assistance of their legitimate sovereign. Don Pedro was not the dupe of this barefaced falsehood, and as soon as the whole of Castile had tendered submission, he had the traitor arrested and thrown into prison. Padilla died there at the end of a few months. His place had already been filled by Martin Lopez, Master of Alcantara.‡

* Ayala, p. 473, and following, calls this prison a *silo*. The Archbishop was confined here nearly two years. He became afterwards Archbishop of Toulouse.

† Torres y Tapia, "Cron. de Alcant.," t. II, p. 102, and following.

‡ Rades, "Cron. de Calat.," p. 58—59. Torres y Tapia,

II.

On hearing of these arrests, especially that of the Gascon prelate, the Prince of Wales imagined a direct insult had been offered to himself. He protested, but in vain; Don Pedro declared that he no longer needed the English army, and that it was a heavy expense to him. He requested the prince to return to Guyenne, at the same time begging him to leave behind one thousand armed men for a few months longer. There being no more battles to fight, no fresh glory to acquire, Edward asked nothing better than to return to his own dominions. His health, which had been declining for some time, had suffered considerably from the fatigues of the last campaign; and moreover, some hostile demonstrations on the part of the King of France rendered his presence necessary in Bordeaux.

Before quitting Spain, however, he was desirous that his captains should receive the monies due to them, for the payment of which he himself had made advances, or had become guarantee. Besides, he required the surrender of the Biscayan ports, which by the treaty of Libourne, Don Pedro had engaged to cede to him.

"Cron. de Alcantara," asserts that Don Diego de Padilla was dead in 1365, and he cites a protest of the brothers of Calatrava against the election of Martin Lopez, dated the 30th of August. Era 1403 (1365). *See* t. II, p. 103, and following. Señor de Llaguno disputes and invalidates this document in a note to which we refer the reader. Ayala, p. 596. According to Ayala, Padilla must have been put to death in the keep of the Alcala de Guadaïra, in 1369, by command of the King, who had learned that he was in correspondence with the rebels. Ayala, p. 536.

The King of Castile, however, manifested no inclination to fulfil these promises. Edward protested, and not without bitterness. Commissioners were appointed on both sides, for already the two allies communicated with each other only through ambassadors. To Edward's demand for subsidies, the Castilian ministers replied by rival claims. They first enlarged on the rapacity and violence of the English army, which in its total want of discipline and propensity to plunder yielded in no respect to Don Enrique's Knights Companions. They next asserted that, during the king's sojourn in Guyenne, the gold and silver money he had brought from Spain and distributed among the English captains to enable them to make preparations for their expedition, had been taken at an exorbitant profit; that the jewellery given to the prince by Don Pedro had been valued at only one half its real worth. They insisted that before discussing the question of subsidies due to the English army, a fresh valuation should be made of all the monies advanced by the king before the commencement of the campaign. The English replied that it was impossible to enter afresh into past transactions, and contended that they had in fact lost through the gold and jewellery brought from Castile, having been forced to part with them at a low rate to purchase arms and war-horses.

This discussion was obstinately protracted until it was clearly ascertained that the king's exchequer was now empty. The prince, who had guaranteed Don Pedro's payment of the English captains, consented to allow his ally time to discharge his debt; but demanded, as additional security, twenty Casti-

lian castles. This was too galling to the national pride, and was indignantly rejected. Difficulties augmented at every moment, nor could the commissioners arrive at an understanding upon any one point. Even the amount of the subsidies due was violently disputed, and after many fruitless debates, the Castilians required that every other question should be adjourned, until the contending parties had agreed upon the sum total of the debt due from the king. This was a fresh question, tedious in its details, and still more difficult to resolve, since neither party would approve the account presented by the other. With regard to the cession of certain towns in Biscay, Don Pedro appeared to agree to it readily, and even seemed to press the execution of the treaty of Libourne upon the Provincial deputation; but he was accused of having secretly despatched emissaries bearing totally different instructions. Besides, those who knew the laws and customs of the Basques, were well aware that they would not recognize the right of any one to dispose of them, and that they were especially unlikely to consent to become the vassals of the King of England.*

The exigencies of the English, and the intentional delay of the Castilians, prolonged the negociations for several weeks. After many sharp discussions, the commissioners at last came to an understanding as to the amount of the expenses of the expedition, and as it was impossible to discharge the whole at that

* Ayala, p. 474, and following.

time, it was agreed that the Prince of Wales should remain Don Pedro's guarantee to his creditors—the English captains. The king promised to pay one half of the debt in the course of four months, during which time the auxiliary army, the expense of which was defrayed by him, was to occupy the province of Valladolid. Until the actual payment of all the subsidies, the princesses, Don Pedro's daughters, were to remain as hostages at Bayonne. English and Castilian commissioners were charged to effect at once the surrender of the Biscayan ports; lastly, it was agreed that the town and lordship of Soria should be given to John Chandos in payment of the various sums he had advanced or expended upon the expedition. Sir Hugh de Calverley was also confirmed in the possession of the county (condado) of Carrion, of which he had already received investure from Don Enrique. Every thing being thus arranged, the terms of agreement were ratified by the two princes, and solemnly sworn to by them in the cathedral at Burgos. Immediately after the ceremony, they separated, Edward to take up his quarters in the province of Valladolid, Don Pedro to make a rapid tour of his kingdom, and urge upon his people the immediate collection of the contributions required for the payment of the English army.*

Four months passed away and the first payment was not yet made. Even if the king had wished to discharge his debt, the exhausted state of his finances would not have permitted him. The towns of Biscay flatly re-

* Ayala, p. 474—483. Froissart, l. I, second Part, chap. CCXLIII—XLV.

fused to receive the English commissioners, and placed themselves in a posture of defence, nor did they attempt to conceal that they were countenanced in this proceeding by their lawful lord, the King of Castile. Moreover, inactivity, drunkenness, and dysentery, were fast decimating the English army of occupation. The burning sun of Spain avenged the defeat of Najera. Every day did Don Pedro's officers contrive to find some fresh pretext for deferring the execution of the treaty of Burgos. When Chandos came to claim his letter patent for the investiture of the lordship of Soria, so high were the terms demanded by the Castilian court of chancery, that they probably exceeded the value of the domain which had been granted him. The Prince of Wales, weary of the complaints of his captains, worn down by the interminable delays which were constantly opposed to his claims, sick and indignant at seeing himself thus openly duped, returned to Guyenne towards the close of the autumn, bringing with him from Spain scarce a fifth of his brilliant army, and the sterile glory he had acquired on the plains of Najera.*

If Don Pedro did not fulfil his promises to the Prince of Wales, whose army occupied the centre of his dominions, it may easily be imagined that he would not incommode himself to keep measures with the King of Navarre, a less honourable ally and less dangerous neighbour. He did not cede to him the province of Soria, nor am I aware that Carlos had the impudence to claim it. We left that astute prince in

* "Post hæc periit populus anglicanus in Hispania de fluxu ventris et aliis infirmitatibus, quod vix quintus homo redierit in Angliam." Knyghton, "Hist, Ang. Script.," tome II, p. 2629.

the castle of Borja, the voluntary prisoner of Olivier de Mauny, waiting the moment when victory should decide which of the two pretenders should wear the crown of Castile ere he threw off the mask. The battle of Najera having solved all his doubts, his next thought was how to get out of prison without incurring expense. It has been seen that the connivance of the Breton captive had been purchased by the promise of the lordship of Guibray, and a rental of 3000 francs. It was no easy task to cheat an Adventurer, but in the art of chicanery the Navarrese prince had no equal. Leaving one of his sons, the Infante Don Pedro, as a hostage, at Borja, he contrived to persuade Mauny to accompany him as far as Tudela, where, he said, his ransom should be paid at once. Mauny did not know the man with whom he was dealing, until he was completely in his prisoner's power. On his arrival at Tudela, he was thrown into prison. His brother, in attempting to effect his escape, was killed by the king's satellites, and Olivier accounted himself fortunate in recovering his liberty on condition of releasing Carlos' son. Such was the termination of this ignoble farce.*

III.

The most frightful disorder reigned throughout Castile. After the first moment of consternation had passed, each man began to calculate the strength and resources of Don Pedro. He was not in a condition to meet the claims of the English, and by not satisfying them, he lost

* Ayala, p. 464.

the support afforded him by the terror of their arms. It might already be foreseen that immediately after the departure of these formidable auxiliaries, he would find himself alone in the midst of a discontented and humiliated people, who had just learned by experience —how easily a revolution is accomplished. Meanwhile the bonds of obedience were everywhere broken asunder. There is a strength in the very inertness of the Spanish character, which even when all resistance seems hopeless, still struggles against defeat, and contrives to avert its disastrous consequences. "To gain time," is a national maxim,* and it is more especially in great political convulsions that its application is found. On announcing his victory to all the Commons of his kingdom, Don Pedro hastened to claim for his own purposes the amount of the taxes voted in the Cortes of Burgos, and already paid to Don Enrique. He declared that they had been unlawfully granted to the usurper, and nevertheless he was at the same time compelled to appeal to the decrees of an assembly which had pronounced his deposition.† By this extraordinary inconsistency he rendered homage to the authority of the Cortes, the only authority still respected by the nation, and seemed publicly to admit his inability to govern alone. The greater number of the towns did not oppose his demands by direct refusals, but invented a thousand pretexts for deferring the payment of a tax rendered by its destination more than usually obnoxious to the national pride.

If the king found so little obedience amongst the

* "Dar tiempo al tiempo."

† Cascales, "Hist. de Murcia." Letter from Don Pedro to the Council of Murcia. Toledo, 20th of May, 1405 (1367), p. 151.

Commons, upon whose devotion he was accustomed to rely, we may judge what resistance he was likely to encounter from his great vassals, who had always been indisposed to submit to his authority. Those Ricos Hombres, who had lately escaped from the field of Najera, or who had laid themselves open to suspicion through their conduct during Don Enrique's usurpation, fortified their castles, and resolved to remain therein, awaiting patiently an opportunity to treat with the legitimate king, should his government be re-established, or again take up arms against him, in the event of the vanquished party regaining the ascendancy. Don Pedro, without money or army, and having neither the inclination nor the power to buy the services of the English, sought around him in vain for ready obedience or open rebellion. Attended by only a few men-at-arms, he went from city to city to press the fulfilment of his orders, thus betraying his own weakness to the people whom he would fain intimidate.

In this melancholy position his inflexibility of character remained unchanged. He had learned nothing from adversity, had forgotten nothing. He perceived that his subjects feared him no longer, and he did not endeavour to win their love. Whether priest, noble, or burgher, whoever had manifested a marked eagerness to serve the usurper, found him as inexorable a judge as in the hour of his prosperity. Before quitting Burgos, he ordered the execution of one of the principal cavalleros and one of the richest burghers of that city, as if to show he intended to decimate all classes equally.* At Toledo, he required hostages to be placed in his

* Ayala, p. 496.

hands, as though it were a conquered city, and took them with him in his retinue to Andalucia. At Cordova, he arrested sixteen hidalgos belonging to the first families, and shortly afterwards delivered them up to the executioners, on the ground of their having invited Don Enrique within their walls. Other executions, no less sanguinary, signalized his entry into Seville. Some of these appear to have been just: such as the sentence passed upon Boccanegra, the Genoese, and Martin Yañez, whose treachery had led to consequences so injurious to Don Pedro.* But after the punishment of these great criminals, scaffolds were prepared indiscriminately for the magistrates and subaltern officers who had accepted inferior appointments under the usurper. It seemed as though misfortune had increased the king's passion for cruelty: his blind vengeance now extended to the relatives of rebels, and, which was most revolting to the Castilians, not even women were spared. The execution of Doña Urraca de Osorio, especially excited the public indignation. The only crime of this lady was, that her son, Don Alfonso de Guzman, had refused to follow the king into exile; but far from bearing arms against him, he had lived a retired life in Andalucia until after the battle of Najera. Then, fearing the king's resentment, he had sought refuge in the town of Alburquerque. That place, however, having become the general resort of the malcontents of the south, was then the focus of insurrection, and Don Pedro, unable to reduce these rebels to submission, wreaked his vengeance upon the mother of Don Alfonso, whom he

* Ayala, p, 497.

accused of holding correspondence with them. Her punishment was most horrible. According to the chronicle of Seville, she was burnt alive outside the ramparts, on a spot which is now the public promenade. It is related that when Doña Urraca was placed on the pile, and the executioners had just set fire to it, her clothes being disarranged, one of her women, named Leonor Davalos, threw herself into the midst of the flames and covering with her own body that of her unfortunate mistress, perished with her.*

These revolting executions, this insane thirst for vengeance, could only serve to augment the number of the malcontents, and to excite fresh conspiracies. Many nobles who, until then, had been faithful to Don Pedro in his fallen fortunes, now withdrew from his service, as from a madman who was rushing headlong to his own destruction. Among all the king's servants, he who by his repeated proofs of devotion, seemed the farthest removed from suspicion, was Martin Lopez de Cordova, the companion of his exile, and his ambassador to the King of England. Since his return to Castile, Don Pedro had dispossessed Diego de Padilla, whose treachery has been related, of the Mastership of Calatrava, and conferred that dignity on Martin Lopez, as being more important than the Mastership of Alcantara, which he

* Ayala, p. 500. Zuñiga, "An. de Sev.," t. II, p. 173. The remains of Doña Urraca Osorio, and her maid, Leonor Davalos, are interred in the Church of San Isodoro, at Italia, a short distance from Seville, where also repose the ashes of Guzman el Bueno. The Guzman family erected a marble monument to Doña Urraca, on which is represented Leonor Davalos covering her mistress with her garments.—*T.*

had previously held. To this had still more recently been added the government of Murcia and Cordova. It was in the latter city, the place of his birth, that Martin Lopez had fixed his residence. Hitherto he had been remarkable for his promptitude in executing his master's most rigorous orders. His conduct now was totally different; he laboured to win the affections of his countrymen, deploring with them his master's harshness, and appropriating to himself alone the merit of the few favours granted by Don Pedro. Whether he yielded to some foreign suggestions, or merely followed the promptings of his own ambition, he soon began to develop a scheme such as could not fail to produce a deep impression upon the Castilian nobility, who have always been much more jealous of their own authority than of the honour of their country. Martin Lopez now not only openly condemned the king's policy, but declared that it was time to put an end to his insufferable tyranny; that the king must be protected against his own madness, and a regency appointed to govern Castile in his name. The supreme authority, he added, could not be entrusted to better hands than those of the Prince of Wales, that perfect model of chivalry. Don Pedro, moreover, should be obliged to reside at Toledo. He should be forced to marry, and by this means the kingdom would be quit of that legion of bastards whose rival pretensions would, on the king's death, doubtless occasion the most serious disorders. The whole kingdom was to be divided into four principal governments, to be partitioned among the nobles of the country, for the regency of the English prince was to be purely nominal and honorary. Martin

Lopez reserved to himself Andalucia and Murcia, of which he was already viceroy. Fernando de Castro was to have for his share the kingdoms of Leon and Galicia, where, in fact, he already exercised an almost regal authority. To Diego Gomez de Castañeda, was to be confided Old Castile. Lastly, the province of Toledo, with La Mancha and Estremadura, was to fall to the lot of Garci Fernandez de Villodre.*

I relate this remarkable scheme on the authority of Ayala, and it appears to me too conformable to the ideas and wishes of the Castilian nobility to be rejected as doubtful or impracticable. Since Don Pedro had held with a strong hand the reins of government, his constant policy had been to reduce his great vassals to a subaltern position. The consequent irritation of the latter had prepared the way for the usurpation of Don Enrique in 1366. But though the nobles were unanimous in casting off the yoke of Don Pedro, they were not agreed in the choice of a successor. A great number of Ricos Hombres, proud of their unblemished scutcheons, reproached Don Enrique with the stain of his birth. The partiality, too, which he betrayed for those foreigners who had helped him to ascend the throne, aroused the national jealousy. Between the Ricos Hombres, who dreaded the despotism of Don Pedro, and those who despised Don Enrique's origin, Martin Lopez attempted to raise a third party. Nothing could be better contrived than his plan for satisfying the dominant passions of the great vassals. A phantom of a king, under a guardian residing at too great a dis-

* Ayala, p. 497, and following.

tance to be troublesome, four mayors of the palace, who should be sovereigns in every respect but the name, what vision could be more enchanting to noble lords who were too proud to endure a master? We may add; that such a system of government was no novelty in Spain. It had sprung up naturally at the period when the Christians first began to drive the Arabs towards the south of the Peninsula. Still more recently, during the minority of Don Alfonso, the kingdom of Castile had been in a similar manner divided amongst his guardians. After such great revolutions, the moment was well chosen for partitioning the spoils of regal power. We cannot now tell whether the Prince of Wales was informed of the part reserved for him, and whether Martin Lopez had conspired in concert with the Ricos Hombres, upon whom the monarchical authority was to devolve; but we may reasonably believe that the English, discontented with Don Pedro, saw, without displeasure, the growing dissatisfaction of the Castilian nobility, and even encouraged them to execute a project which could not fail to augment their own influence. With respect to the Ricos Hombres whom Martin Lopez had selected as his coadjutors in governing Castile, the singular attachment which Don Fernando de Castro and Garci de Villodre evinced until the very last for Don Pedro, forbids us to imagine that they had joined in a conspiracy against a prince for whom they subsequently made such noble sacrifices. Their names, in myopinion, could only have been put forward by the Master of Calatrava, on account of the extraordinary influence they exercised in certain provinces, and in associating them with his own, his object

appears to have been to ensure general assent to his designs.

While waiting the proper season for disclosing his project, Martin Lopez lost no opportunity of disparaging the king, and gaining partisans for himself. One day, having assembled at dinner the heads of the most illustrious families in Cordova, he declared to them that Don Pedro had resolved upon their destruction, and it is said even that he communicated to them a letter from the king, either true or feigned, to that effect.* He took care to add, that so long as he should command at Cordova, his fellow-citizens need not fear that he would consent to become their executioner. But it was easier for Martin Lopez to undermine the royal authority than to establish his own. He rendered his master odious to the Cordovans, without making himself beloved. Meanwhile, the king became informed of these intrigues, and determined to anticipate the explosion of the plot. He confided his intentions to Don Pedro Giron, whom he had lately created Master of Alcantara, and to whom he now promised the appointments enjoyed by Martin Lopez, if he would contrive to place that noble in his sovereign's hands. Accordingly, Pedro Giron having enticed Lopez into the Castle of Martos, of which he was governor, loaded his rival with fetters, and prepared to send him to Seville, that is to say, to death, when Mohammed, King of Granada, who for a long time had been on terms of strict intimacy with Martin Lopez, interposed in his behalf. Don Pedro, who had no other ally than the

* Ayala, p. 498.

Moorish king, was compelled by his own interest to keep on friendly terms with that prince. At his request, Don Pedro performed an act of mercy for the first time in his life, and not only restored the Master of Calatrava to liberty, but soon after, whether persuaded of his innocence, or feeling himself too weak to punish, seemed even to have forgotten the past, and restored his offending subject to his entire confidence.*

III.

The general disaffection and anarchy prevailing throughout Castile was soon to be increased by the unexpected return of the Pretender. On his arrival in Languedoc, Don Enrique had at first experienced only a cold and timid reception. The Duc d'Anjou, governor of the province, had indeed given him some pecuniary assistance, but this species of alms was dispensed in secret, and it was with difficulty that the fugitive king obtained permission to see the duke, and to confer with him on the state of affairs in Castile. The interview took place with some sort of mystery, for the Court of France did not yet venture to declare openly in Don Enrique's favour, for fear of a rupture with England. However, Charles V. was too much interested in freeing Spain from English rule, entirely to abandon one whose claims to the throne of Castile he had himself sanctioned. The dissatisfaction of the Prince of Wales, and the bad state of his health, were very soon publicly known, and this intelligence imparted fresh courage to the King of France. His first step

* Ayala, p. 499.

was to assign Don Enrique a pension, next to give him the Comté de Cessenon, near Beziers, for which fief the vanquished prince openly did him homage.* This was, however, no more than that assistance and sympathy which are due to the unfortunate; it was merely granting an asylum to a man who had formerly served France. But at the same time, Don Enrique received underhand promises and encouragement. In the retirement of his new domain he was not so distant, from Castile but that he could conveniently study its situation at his leisure, and correspond with his secret or declared partisans. From all parts there came reports calculated to nourish his hopes, and rekindle his courage. These represented to him the general disorder, the indignation excited by the renewed severities of Don Pedro, the scantiness of his resources, the discontent of the Commons, now burdened by new taxes; lastly, the hostile attitude assumed by several of the great vassals. On the other side, many captains, English or Gascon, whom Don Enrique had succeeded in attaching to his person whilst in his service, secretly apprized him of the misunderstanding existing between Don Pedro and the Prince of Wales, and assured him that Edward, disgusted with the bad faith of his ally, had loudly declared that he would henceforth make no efforts in Don Pedro's defence.

* Ayala, p. 503—504. "Hist. de Languedoc."

CHAPTER XI.

RETURN OF DON ENRIQUE.
1368—1369.

I.

Don Enrique employed the money of the King of France to the best advantage. He paid the ransoms of his companions in misfortune, purchased arms and horses, recruited soldiers. The French governors readily seconded these preparations, although feigning ignorance of their object. Charles V. himself invented various pretexts for furnishing the bastard with subsidies. Thus he twice re-purchased from Don Enrique the lands he had given that prince.* The English captains, on their side, exasperated against Don Pedro, and despairing of ever obtaining the indemnities he had promised them, acted generously to their prisoners, contenting themselves with moderate ransoms, or even setting them at liberty upon parole.

There existed amongst the knights of France and England that species of courtesy which is found sometimes among gamblers. It was not uncommon for a lord to lend his arms and horses to his prisoners, and to

* Ayala, p. 504. Note 2 of Señor de Llaguno. Dom Vaissette, "Hist. de Languedoc."

allow them to depart on a distant expedition, in the hope that fortune would be propitious, and permit them some day to discharge their debts. About the middle of the year 1367, a great number of French and Castilians, who had been taken prisoners at Najera, on being set at liberty, equipped themselves, and hastened to Don Enrique, ardently desiring to repair their losses. That prince had transferred his residence to the Castle of Pierre Pertuse, a new gift of the King of France, situated on the frontier of Roussillon; and here he saw arrive daily some of his former companions in arms.

Whilst this little army was collecting to the north of the Pyrenees, several insurrections took place in the very heart of Castile. In Estremadura, Don Alfonso de Guzman, the son of the unfortunate Doña Urraca, and Don Gonzalo Mexia, the Master of Santiago, had fortified the town of Alburquerque, whence they and their partisans waged war throughout the whole province. Their example was soon followed by other Ricos Hombres, and several important communities. Segovia, from her Alcazar, a powerful fortress, hung out the banner of Don Enrique, as also did Avila, and some other towns of Old Castile. Immediately after the departure of the Prince of Wales, Valladolid and a part of the Basque provinces, irritated by the excesses of the English army, rose against Don Pedro, whom they held responsible for all their misfortunes.* A great number of the prisoners taken at Najera, on arriving in Spain, armed their vassals, and announced

* Ayala, p. 506, and following.

the speedy return of the pretender. Moreover, the English were now likely to find sufficient employment on the side of France, had they even wished to attempt a second interference. It was given out that the truce would soon be broken; numerous bands of Adventurers, recruited and paid by Charles V., were already making incursions in Guyenne, and the Prince of Wales was fully occupied in preparing to defend his own frontier.

II.

Don Enrique felt that the zeal of his friends must not be suffered to cool. After a conference held at Aigues-Mortes with the Duc d'Anjou and the Cardinal de Boulogne, being assured of the protection and assistance of Charles V. and the Pope, and provided by them with a considerable army, he assembled all his partisans, and towards the middle of August set out on his road to Spain. He had as yet only four hundred lances, but this little troop was composed of picked men, Castilians, French, and Aragonese, commanded by the Bastard of Bearn,* the Conde de Osuna, and the Begue de

* Bernal de Foix, better known as the Bastard of Bearn, has been alluded to twice or thrice before. He was a natural son of Gaston Phœbus, Comte de Foix and Seigneur de Bearn. Thanks to the good offices of Don Enrique, Bernal married Doña Isabel de la Cerda, sister to Don Juan de la Cerda, whose story, as well as that of his noble-minded wife, Maria Coronel, the reader will not have forgotten. At the time of her marriage to the Bastard of Bearn, Doña Isabel was the youthful widow of Don Rodrigo Alvarez de Asturias. Bernal de Foix was created Conde de Melina Celi on his marriage, and large estates were settled on his

Vilaines.* These sufficed for his escort as far as the Castilian frontier; there he might find an army capable of conquering a kingdom, or encounter a glorious death, worthy the chief of desperate men. In order to prove to his companions that he was resolved to stake everything on the success of this enterprize, he brought with him his wife and son, leaving in the Castle of Pierre Pertuse only his daughter and a number of ladies, who would have been too great an incumbrance to his little troop.

Don Enrique must necessarily traverse the Aragonese territory before entering Castile. The change that had come over Pedro IV., since his alliance with England, has been before referred to. If, however, the court at Barcelona were opposed to the Pretender, all the people and at least a part of the nobility openly prayed for the success of his enterprize. Even the king's uncle, the Infante Don Pedro,† avowedly seconded the

bride, on condition of her relinquishing, for herself and her heirs, all pretensions to the Crown of Castile, in right of her grandfather, Don Alfonso de la Cerda, who, although he had on the death of his father, Alfonso el Sabio, been proclaimed King of Castile, was obliged to yield his birthright to his uncle, Sancho el Bravo.

* The Begue de Vilaines, and the Maréchale d'Audeneham, were, after the Battle of Navarrete, exchanged for some English knights. Like the rest of Don Enrique's followers, the services of the Begue were magnificently remunerated, he having received, in 1367, a grant of the condado of Ribadro, in Galicia. He either sold it again, or on his death without issue, the condado reverted to the Crown, as it was afterwards granted to the Constable Ruy Lopez Davalos. "This," says Mr. Dillon, "was the last countship conferred by Enrique II."—*T.*

† The son of this Prince, the Conde de Denia, created by

designs of Don Enrique, and promised to give him substantial proofs of his good-will. On receiving intelligence of the preparations making at Pierre Pertuse, the King of Aragon sent to signify to Don Enrique that his alliance with the Prince of Wales obliged him to consider any attempt to pass through his territory as an act of hostility. Without taking account of this official threat, Don Enrique entered the valley of Aran,* crossed the Pyrenees without opposition, no one disputing the passes with him, and entered the condado (county) of Ribagorza, a seignory belonging to the Infante Don Pedro. This prince had sent him experienced guides to lead him through that wild and rugged country. On reaching the Aragonese territory, Don Enrique wrote to Pedro IV., reminding them of their ancient alliance, and of

Don Enrique Marques de Villena, was still a prisoner of the English.

The Conde de Denia, to use the more familiar title, had been taken prisoner at Najera, by Robert Hawley and John Shekel, two English squires attached to the person of Sir John Chandos. The murder of Hawley, and the noble conduct of the Conde's son, Don Alfonso, who was left in pledge for his father's ransom, are well known to English readers, through the pages of Walsingham, or of the "Romance of History." Don Alfonso, that true hidalgo, was contracted to Leonor of the Lions, youngest daughter of Don Enrique, whose cause the Conde de Denia had so faithfully served; the marriage, however, did not take place. Another son of Denia married the bastard's eldest daughter, and became the father of the celebrated poet, Enrique Marques de Villena, who was the first to translate the Æneid into a modern tongue.— *T.*

* Ayala, p. 510, Note 1.

the services he had formerly rendered Aragon; services very important, inasmuch as in the preceding year his entry into Castile had sufficed to oblige Don Pedro to evacuate, in a single day, one hundred and twenty towns or castles, of which he had gained possession. He promised to respect the territory through which he was obliged to pass, in order to re-enter his States; but he also announced his firm resolution to repel with force any attempt to interrupt his march. In reality, his progress was only impeded by the badness of the roads, and a few trifling attacks of the mountaineers upon his vanguard. On arriving in the condado de Ribagorza, the Castilian army found abundance of provisions and refreshments of all kinds, prepared by the forethought of the Infante Don Pedro. Don Enrique remained only so long as was absolutely necessary to rest his men and horses, which were exhausted by their long journey. At Estadilla, some distance farther, he traversed the domains of his brother-in-law, Don Felipe de Castro, an Aragonese Rico Hombre, whom Don Pedro then detained a prisoner in the Castle of Burgos. Everywhere his partisans had both guides and provisions in readiness for him. At Balbastro, he learned that a considerable body of troops had been sent from Zaragoza by the King of Aragon to oppose him; but the chiefs of that little army themselves courteously apprized him of their approach; thus announcing that they obeyed, much against their own will, orders disapproved by all their fellow-countrymen.

Probably Pedro IV. counted upon the disobedience of his captains, and had no other object than to prove to the Prince of Wales that he was no party to Don

Enrique's projects. The bastard, however, hurrying on his march, was soon out of reach. Rapidly traversing a part of the Navarrese territory, which its inhabitants either could not or would not dispute with him, he crossed the Ebro near Azagra, and at last found himself in Castile before Calahorra, the town wherein, during the preceding year, he had been proclaimed king.

On touching the right bank of the Ebro, Don Enrique asked if he were in Castile. The reply was, that he had just entered his kingdom. He immediately dismounted, threw himself on his knees, traced the figure of a cross upon the sand, and kissed it. "By this cross," he exclaimed, "the sign of our redemption, I swear that, whatever dangers or misfortunes may befal me, I will never again leave Castile alive. In Castile I will await death, or such fortune as Heaven may have in store for me!"* Then, rising from his knees, he knighted several hidalgos and esquires, as though it were the morning of a battle, among others, the Bastard of Bearn, whom he afterwards created Conde de Medina Celi.

Calahorra had not waited his approach to declare in his favour. A great number of his partisans had already assembled there, and the city contained at this moment five or six hundred Castilian or French men-at-arms, the majority of whom had fought at Najera,†

* Ayala, p. 514.

† Amongst the rest, Don Gomez Manrique, Archbishop of Toledo, who was always to be found on the winning side. Ayala, p. 514.—*T.*

all well mounted, and fired with military ardour. For several days Don Enrique remained in this little town to receive the volunteers, who poured in from all parts. From hence, finding himself at the head of a tolerable force, he boldly marched upon Burgos. He was everywhere received with transports of joy. Logroño was the only town which closed its gates against him. There was no time to waste upon sieges, and, after a skirmish at the barriers, he recommenced his march. Burgos was already blockaded by his partisans. Two factions divided this great city. The majority of the burghers wished to welcome Don Enrique, but the castle contained a garrison of two hundred lances, and the Jews, always faithful to Don Pedro, had taken up arms, fortified their quarters, and were resolved to defend them. As soon as the royal banner was displayed, the archbishop, all the clergy, and the principal burghers, bearing with them the keys of the city, marched out in procession to meet Don Enrique, and conducted him in triumph to the palace, whilst the castle and Jewry were discharging their arrows, and firing upon the town. Thus two sieges were undertaken at the same time. At the end of a few days, the Jews, seeing their wall undermined, and battering-rams ready to destroy them, sued for mercy, and, at the price of a large advance of money, obtained security for their property and lives. The castle held out rather longer. At last the governor,* informed that the miners were already under his ramparts, and having no hope of

* Alonso Hernandez.

assistance, submitted, and surrendered his fortress. On entering the castle, Don Enrique set at liberty his brother-in-law, Felipe de Castro, who had been detained a prisoner ever since the Battle of Najera. There was only one other captive of importance in the castle, the son of the last King of Majorca, whom sickness had prevented from leaving Burgos. He was a valuable prize; for his ransom, which was speedily paid by his wife, the Queen of Naples, was fixed at 80,000 doubloons.*

The surrender of the ancient capital of Castile could not fail to produce a lively impression throughout the kingdom. From that moment the secret partisans of Don Enrique no longer hesitated to declare in his favour, and in a few days their example was followed by nearly all the northern towns. The insurrection spread with incredible rapidity, and soon reached the most remote provinces. Andalucia, until then peaceful and submissive, long accustomed to obey, and restrained moreover by the presence of the lawful king, was nevertheless infected by the general contagion, and the fire of civil war broke out, so to say, even under the very eyes of Don Pedro. Martin Lopez had imagined that in exciting sedition among the inhabitants of Cordova he was only working for his own aggrandizement, but it was soon manifest that he had been preparing the way for the Pretender. Towards the close of the year 1367, the burghers entered into communication with Gonzalo Mexia, Master of Santiago, who for several months had been waging war in Don Enrique's name upon the Portuguese frontier. They invited him to their city,

* Ayala, p. 516.

and appointed him their chief.* The defection of Cordova threw the friends of the legitimate king into the greatest consternation, and excited to the utmost the enthusiasm and hopes of the rebels. Don Pedro, full of distrust, and imagining that he was no longer safe at Seville, used every effort to fortify the town of Carmona, which he proposed making his military head quarters. He had an immense stock of provisions of all kinds conveyed thither, and intended placing his children† and treasures in the citadel, which he

* Ayala, p. 517.

† Don Pedro had several illegitimate children by other mistresses than Maria de Padilla. The three daughters of this last were then at Bayonne.

In the monastery of Dominican nuns at Toledo are three tombs, one of the Lady Teresa de Ayala, daughter of Don Gomez de Toledo, by whom Don Pedro had a daughter, called Maria, who was for many years Prioress of this royal convent, and lies in the second tomb. In the third are interred Don Sancho and Don Diego, sons of Don Pedro, by Doña Isabel, a bed-chamber woman of the Court, who waited on the Infante Don Alfonso. Of these two natural sons of Don Pedro, Sancho, who was born at Almazan in 1363, was taken prisoner in Carmona after the murder of Don Pedro by his brother, and was by him confined in Toledo. From thence he was removed fromfortress to fortress, lastly to Curiel, where he died. The body of Don Sancho was carried to Toledo, and buried in the Church of San Domingo el Real, in 1448: this Prince left no issue. His brother, Don Diego, was also in Carmona at the time of his uncle's capture of that stronghold. He remained upwards of fifty years a state prisoner at Curiel, he was then, by King Juan II.'s orders, conveyed to Coca, where he was allowed the liberty of the town. He died in 1434, leaving two children by a daughter of the Governor of Curiel. Garibay, vol. II, p. 311. Mariana, Lib. XVII, cap. IV.—*T.*.

endeavoured to make impregnable, perhaps with the idea of finding there a last refuge for himself. At the same time he assembled troops, besought the Granadine Moors to lend him assistance, and left no means untried to reanimate the courage of his partisans. Nowhere, however, did he find a willingness to serve him. He accused the Moors of indolence, his vassals of apathy. Threats, prayers, all possible means were taken to press forward the equipment of an army, nevertheless he saw himself quite unprepared for a campaign, and constrained to abandon to their fate the small number of loyal servants who still endeavoured to uphold his cause in the north of the kingdom. His principal lieutenant in Old Castile, Rodrigo Rodriguez, was besieged in the castle of Dueñas, by Don Enrique himself, and after a somewhat prolonged resistance, was forced to capitulate.

Winter alone delayed the progress of the usurper. The latter end of the year 1367, and the beginning of the following year, were spent in military preparations on both sides, neither of the two contending parties being willing to risk a battle. Whilst Don Pedro was summoning to arms all those vassals who still remained faithful to his cause, Don Enrique traversed Old Castile, and the kingdom of Leon, rallying his partisans, exhorting them to redouble their exertions, recruiting soldiers, purchasing or taking castles, and obtaining from the Commons pecuniary assistance in return for prospective immunities and privileges. Wherever he went, little else was necessary than to praise the zeal of the nobility and commons; it was in his own family that he met with the most dangerous opposition. The

jealousy of Don Tello, his repeated treacheries, and continual intrigues have been frequently recorded. Although looked upon with suspicion by his brother ever since the battle of Najera, he had joined him immediately after his arrival in Spain, and having in some measure forced his alliance upon Don Enrique, had accompanied him in all his expeditions. A short time after the surrender of Burgos, he alarmed Don Enrique's camp, by announcing that the Prince of Wales had arrived at Bayonne at the head of an army? To substantiate this intelligence, he produced a letter which had been fabricated by one of his scribes. What could be his design? It is somewhat difficult of explanation. Perhaps he might hope by this artifice to elude the secret watchfulness of Don Enrique, and to be sent by him into Biscay, imagining that when there he might, under pretence of opposing the invasion of the English, work out for himself an independent sovereignty. Such had ever been the object of Don Tello's ambition, and amid the disorders of this period, the idea of complete independence predominated in every mind. The towns desired franchises which might constitute them republics, the nobles aspired to become kings.

However this may be, the knavery of Don Tello was discovered by the man whom he had selected as his tool. His secretary denounced him to Pero Lopez de Ayala, who immediately apprized Don Enrique. The latter, accustomed to conceal his knowledge of his brother's perfidy, did not reproach Don Tello, entered into no explanations with him, and even used the utmost caution in rewarding the writer whose disclosures had

relieved his anxieties.* As for Don Tello, he took the first opportunity of escaping into Biscay, where he remained until the close of the civil war, solely occupied with his private affairs.†

III.

Notwithstanding the winter, Don Enrique pursued his course of conquest. About the middle of the month of

* Ayala, p. 517. Abrev.

† Don Tello died in Galicia, October, 1370, and if any credit may be attached to popular rumour, his death was occasioned by some poisonous herbs, administered to him during a slight illness, by Maestre Romano, a physician of his brother Don Enrique. The king, with the consent of the Basques, bestowed the Seignory of Biscay upon his son, the Infante Don Juan, who proceeded in person to Biscay, where he took the oaths in the church of Santa Maria of Guernica, and promised to maintain the fueros, franchises, and liberties of Biscay in all their integrity. On his accession to the throne in 1379, the Seignory of Biscay became for ever incorporated with the Crown. "Dende este año en adelante quedó perpetuamente incorporado en la Corona." Don Tello's remains were interred with great pomp in the monastery of San Francisco, in the city of Valencia. *Cronica del Rey Don Enrique*, p. 19.—*T.*

His brother, Don Sancho, Conde de Alburquerque, married in 1373, the Infanta Dona Beatrix, daughter of Pedro of Portugal, by the famous Inez de Castro. He was wounded in the face by a spear the following year, in a vain endeavour to appease a tumult in the streets of Burgos. *Cronica de Don Enrique*, p. 60. He left one daughter, Leonor, who inheriting the condado of Alburquerque, and the broad lands of her father, was called "the rich heiress of Castile." She married her cousin, Don Fernando, younger brother of Enrique III. the then reigning sovereign of Castile. On the death of his uncle, Don Martin, Don Fernando became King of Portugal.—*T.*

January, 1368, he besieged Leon, and in a few days took possession of that city. From thence he could easily communicate with his partisans in the Asturias, who daily gained ground upon Don Pedro's lieutenants. A short time afterwards he carried Tordehumos, despite the vigorous resistance of the garrison. In an assault which he headed in person, he lost one of his bravest companions in arms, the Conde de Osuna, who, far from inheriting the hatred of his father, Bernal de Cabrera, for Don Enrique, was entirely devoted to his service. Buitrago yielded in a similar manner, after a slight resistance; Madrid, a town then scantily populated, but important in a military point of view, on account of the fortifications which surrounded it, successfully held out for a few days, but a traitor, named Domingo Muñoz, opened one of the gates to the besiegers, who to punish the inhabitants for their fidelity to the legitimate king, abandoned the houses to plunder.*

By the capture of all these fortresses, Don Enrique established his authority firmly in the northern provinces; he now deliberated whether he should push forward with all his forces into Andalucia, in order to attack Don Pedro in his last entrenchments, or besiege Toledo, which, at that time, was rightly considered the strongest place in the kingdom. On the one side, the inhabitants of Cordova, alarmed by Don Pedro's preparations, earnestly implored assistance; while money, on the other hand, was wanting for a distant expedition, and the majority of the captains held it highly impru-

* Ayala, p. 529, and following.

dent to cross the Sierra Morena, and leave the army behind him shut up in Toledo. This latter opinion prevailed, the richness of the country was besides a great temptation to the Adventurers, and the hope of booty rendered them less exacting in their demands for the payment of arrears. Before commencing the operations of the siege, Queen Doña Juana, accompanied by several prelates, among others by the Archbishop of Toledo, took up her residence at a short distance from the city, and endeavoured by flatteries and promises to induce the inhabitants to open their gates. But the garrison was numerous and faithful, it was composed of more than six hundred lances, without reckoning the cross-bow men and burghers who had taken up arms. The Jews especially displayed much energy in the defence of the city. Lastly, the two captains who commanded the place, Fernando Alvarez, the Alguazil Mayor, and Don Garci de Villodre, were devoted to Don Pedro, and expected his speedy appearance at the head of an army. They rejected with scorn the offers of the Pretender, and answered his threats with haughty bravadoes. Notwithstanding all his efforts, Don Enrique could bring against Toledo only a thousand lances, a force sufficient indeed for a blockade, but not for a serious attack upon a city so well fortified. However, those natural obstacles which prevented the besiegers from vigorously prosecuting their operations, enabled them to confine the garrison within the ramparts by works of slight construction. By means of high bastilles raised in front of the bridges of San Martin and Alcantara, Don Enrique could close up the principal entrances to the town, and wait until famine should force it to capitulate.

In the spring of the year 1368 the kingdom of Castile was nearly equally divided between the two rival brothers. Don Pedro had preserved his ascendancy in the provinces of the south. Murcia, Estremadura, and Andalucia obeyed him, with the exception of Cordova and a few insignificant places on the Portuguese frontier. Galicia, under the rule of Don Fernando de Castro, remained faithful, as well as part of the Asturias; but nearly all the other provinces of the north had declared for Don Enrique. Don Pedro, however, still retained there a few isolated forts, some of great military importance. He had garrisons in Zamora, Soria, Vittoria, Logroño, in the maritime ports of Biscay, and in Guipuzcoa. The great divisions only are noticed here; there were, however, castles and fortified houses in each province, and in each district, and these protested against the side espoused by the mass of the population. At this period whoever possessed a donjon and a few suits of armour was an independent chieftain, declared war against his neighbours, and pillaged and ransacked all around him, waiting until victory should determine which of the two kings was to purchase his alliance.

IV.

After having brought all his resources into play, Don Pedro was unable to assemble more than fifteen hundred lances, and six thousand foot soldiers; he was, however, to be supported by the whole force of the King of Granada. The two kings had resolved to direct their first efforts against Cordova, and Don Pedro had sworn to make such an example of this town, as should strike

mortal terror into the rebels. On the other side, the Master of Santiago had thrown himself into Cordova with a few men-at-arms, and strove to complete the fortifications of the city. The burghers seconded him with great zeal, but they wanted both arms and experience. At a distance from Don Enrique, surrounded by barbarians, condemned by a relentless tyrant, they felt that their fate was sealed; but their despair lent them fresh courage, and they were ready to die in the breach rather than implore pardon. The arrival of an unexpected ally still further excited their ardour. On the approach of the Moors, Don Alfonso de Guzman, who occupied the castle of Hornachuelos, quitted his fort with his whole garrison, and passing at night through the midst of the Granadines without being recognized, entered Cordova, resolved to share the fortunes of its inhabitants. This was but a feeble reinforcement, yet when they beheld the noblest lords of the country associated with them in their perils, the burghers believed themselves stronger, and in fact became so.

Mohammed brought Don Pedro 5000 genetours, and 30,000 foot soldiers, a large number of whom were excellent cross-bowmen. There was in some measure a general rising among the Granadine Moors. Cordova, which had been for a long time the capital of the Andalucian Arabs, was still in the imagination of the Mussulmen a holy city. In their eyes the celebrated mosque, built by Abderahman,* afterwards consecrated

* This mosque was begun by Abderahman I. in 786, the last and only peaceful year of his glorious reign. He drew the plan of the edifice himself, and it was his ambition, that this work of his leisure should be somewhat similar in construction to the

for a Christian church, but as yet free from the additions made to it by Charles V., was a sanctuary as deeply venerated as was the Temple of Jerusalem by the crusaders of the twelfth century. An expedition against Cordova rekindled the ancient fanaticism of the Moslems of the Peninsula, and inflamed them with a warlike

celebrated mosque of St. John the Baptist in Damascus, and should excel in magnificence the one lately erected at Bagdad; he even hoped that the new Cordovan sanctuary might in time receive veneration equal to that paid to the Caaba at Mecca, or the Aleksa at Jerusalem. Abderahman's mosque, La Mezquita, had nineteen spacious gates, opening upon nineteen colonnades of various kinds of exquisitely carved marble, which were crossed by thirty-eight other colonnades. Four thousand seven hundred lamps were lighted in this mosque every night, and the oil used in them was mixed with the wood of aloes, ambergris, and other precious perfumes. "Yet although," says Aben Hayan, the historian of the Omniadic dynasty, "he employed great diligence in this work, labouring at it himself an hour every day, and spent more than one hundred thousand doubloons of gold upon it, yet was it not God's will that he should see it completed, but after having endowed colleges and hospitals in connexion therewith, in a style of equal magnificence, he fell sick, and was translated from the palaces of this perishable world, to the eternal habitations of the other life. His corpse was followed to the grave by the inhabitants of the city, all honouring him with their tears, and his son, Hixem, who reigned in his stead, had public prayers offered for him for six days, according to custom." Conde, Part II. chap. XXIV.

This Abderahman must not, however, be confounded with his namesake and descendant, Abderahman III., who after a fifty years' reign of uninterrupted glory and prosperity, during his last illness reckoned up the number of days of pure and true felicity that had fallen to his lot, and found the sum total to be—fourteen. —*T.*

ambition. Thus they marched against that unhappy place as to a crusade, and there was not a Moorish city which did not send its volunteers to the holy enterprise.

On seeing the enemy appear, the Master of Santiago and his cavalleros expected a skirmish at the barriers, the usual commencement of all sieges. The bravest of the garrison were stationed at the Calahorra, a large tower which formed the entrance to a bridge on the left bank of the Guadalquivir; they imagined they would only have to break a few lances, or at most exchange a few shafts with the young Granadine emirs. They were mistaken. It was not a skirmish, but a general and vigorous assault, which they had to sustain. The Moors, taking advantage of their superiority of numbers, attacked the place on several sides at once. First, by a heavy discharge of *garrotes**, their crossbowmen dislodge the Christians from the advanced posts and the parapet of the Calahorra, then resolutely planting their scaling ladders everywhere, the most valiant assail the head of the bridge, whilst the columns ford the river, invest the body of the place, and endeavour to undermine the base of the ramparts, and there effect a breach.

After a sharp encounter, an emir, named Aben-Faluz, carries the tower, and nearly at the same moment six breaches, or rather six holes made in the walls of the old Alcazar, open a passage for the Moslems. At this moment the women, believing the city taken, rush with

* Du Cange, verbo Garrotus.

dishevelled hair into the streets, and, uttering the most heart-rending cries, call loudly upon the men-at-arms; at one moment overwhelming them with the grossest insults, and reproaching them with their cowardice, and the next conjuring them with sobs and tears to make one last effort to free them from slavery and the brutality of the infidels. This spectacle reanimates the Christians. They throw themselves with rage and despair on the posts already occupied by the Moors, and drive them back from the breaches which they have not yet had time to widen. The ardour of the Granadines is succeeded by a panic of terror. Their bravest soldiers are hurled from the heights of the ramparts. Their black flags, which had for a moment been planted upon the Calahorra tower, are thrown down. This turret and the breaches made in the Alcazar, now blocked up with dead bodies, are retaken by the Christians. The infidels are dispersed on all sides, a vigorous sortie, led by the Master of Santiago, completes their defeat and drives them back to the foot of the hills where they had pitched their tents. When the retreat of the Moors had ended the battle, many of the inhabitants, in the excitement of victory, passed the night in singing and dancing in the streets by the light of bonfires, whilst others, more prudent, hastened to repair the breaches in the ramparts, to restore the platforms and engines, and to convey to the fortifications, stones, arrows, and all the missiles which could be used for repelling a fresh assault.*

* Ayala, p. 525, and following. Conde, Hist. de los Arabes, Part IV. chap. XXVI.

The Moors, who had suffered considerable loss, did not attempt to renew the attack. Their confidence had given way to dejection. "It is not the will of Allah," they said, "to restore to us the holy city!" They had, moreover, no provisions, and had not had time to procure the necessary materials for a siege. In a few days, the whole of this fine army was dispersed. After some vain attempts to detain his allies, Don Pedro was himself forced to return to Seville; but before breaking up his camp, he despatched a herald to proclaim at the gates of the besieged city that Cordova was guilty of treason, and that when he returned, the city should be reduced to ashes, and the plough driven over the foundations of its buildings.

The unexpected success of the men of Cordova, and the indignation caused by the ravages of the Moors, induced several cities of Andalucia to revolt, and declare in favour of the Pretender. Jaën and Ubeda paid dearly for their audacity. They were both utterly destroyed by the King of Granada.* The Moorish allies of Don Pedro regarding all Christians as enemies, carried fire and sword to the very gates of Seville. In a few weeks all the castles conquered by the king during the last war fell again into the power of the Moors, some being ceded to Mohammed as the price of his alliance, others seized by main force as guilty, or suspected of defection to the Pretender. Many villages, and a few considerable towns were ruthlessly sacked, and a great number of men and women sent as slaves to Granada. Eleven thousand persons, of all ages and sexes, are computed to

* Ayala, p. 528. Argote de Molina, Nobleza de Andalucia, p. 238.

have been carried away by the Mohammedans from the single territory of Utrera, a few leagues from Seville.* Far from opposing these acts of spoliation and devastation, Don Pedro seemed to encourage them by concentrating the greatest parts of his troops at Seville and Carmona. The peasants, now completely exasperated, asserted that the king had abjured their religion, and embraced that of his ally, the Moor of Granada.

V.

Neither the spectacle of Andalucia in flames, nor the entreaties of those unhappy towns who were the victims of this barbarous war, could turn Don Enrique from the siege of Toledo. Open force and secret corruption were alternately opposed to the firmness of the garrison and the vigilance of the governors. A few faithless burghers having succeeded in making themselves masters of one of the towers of the citadel, called the Torre de los Abades,† hung out from it the Pretender's standard, crying out, "King Enrique for Castile!" But in the interior of the city not a voice

* Ayala, p. 519.

† This name is given to a hexagonal tower at Toledo, which forms part of the Arab quarter of the city, and joins the Puerta del Cambron. According to tradition, this tower must in ancient days have served the magistrates of Toledo as a prison. Some antiquaries have conjectured, that it owed its name to the heroic resistance of a small number of Toledan priests, who defended it against Ali-Aben Yussuf, King of Morocco, in the eleventh century. The Puerta del Cambron is more modern than the Torre de los Abades. It is said, that the entrance guarded by this tower was formerly called the Puerta del Almaguera.

responded to this appeal. A party of forty soldiers belonging to the besieging army scaled the tower, and there planted five banners. If they had been vigorously supported, Toledo would probably have fallen that very day; but the inhabitants immediately seizing faggots and vine branches, heaped up these inflammable materials against the gate of the Torre de los Abades, and set them on fire. Not only did this burning wall prevent the assailants from entering the town, but soon enveloped by smoke, and threatened with being burned alive, they were but too happy to escape by means of the ladders which they had used in order to gain the platform of the tower.* Another attempt to deliver one of the gates into Don Enrique's hands met with no better success. Every scheme planned in his favour was discovered, and severely punished. Moreover, the engineer's art was powerless against the excellent fortifications of Toledo.

The city, being surrounded by the Tagus, was vulnerable only at two points, the towers placed in front of the bridges of San Martin and Alcantara. After having for a long time ineffectually battered against the first of these two works, the besiegers attempted to undermine it. The governor, however, had ordered a strong wall to be built behind San Martin's Tower, in order to close the entrance to the bridge in case the tower fell into the enemy's power. Upon the prompt execution of these rival works depended the fate of the place. The miners of Don Enrique had, by means of a subterranean passage, worked their way under the

* Ayala, p. 529, and following.

foundations of the building, and propping them up, so that they might penetrate still farther, they fancied that the tower must be hanging over the excavations they had made. After having set fire to their works they retired, persuaded that the destruction of the props would cause the fall of the whole edifice. The wall which the besieged were erecting at the entrance to the bridge was not yet sufficiently advanced to offer a serious obstacle, and the entire army of Don Enrique was ranged in order of battle at the entrance of San Martin's bridge, impatiently awaiting the explosion of the mine, in order to rush over the ruins of the tower into the city. But the engineers were deceived in their calculations, and the old masonry work remained standing after the burning of its supporters. It was now too late to enlarge the mine, for the besieged, having been warned by the smoke which was escaping from the subterraneous passage, had decided upon cutting away the bridge. This bridge had been constructed in the thirteenth century, and was then considered one of the most remarkable monuments in all Spain. Notwithstanding the arrows discharged by the machines against the workmen, the besieged speedily removed the bances of the principal arch, and rolled it into the Tagus.* From this moment losing all hope of carrying the body of the place by main force, Don Enrique directed all his attention to blockade it more effectually. To prevent the admission of convoys, he increased the number of his outworks, and added new barriers to his line of circumvallation. It seemed as though he were

* Ayala, p. 539, and following.

raising a new city around Toledo. Being much inconvenienced by the want of money whilst engaged on these stupendous works, he had a new coin struck at Burgos. The new pieces were called sesenes, because they were nominally worth six deniers. By means of such precarious resources as these, which were then frequently resorted to, he paid his army for some time.*

The towns in the north of Castile, which still held out for Don Pedro, standing alone amidst the revolted provinces, had not those means of defence which nature and art had accumulated around Toledo. The town-councils of Logroño, Vittoria, and some other cities in the province of Alava, in concert with each other, wrote to the king for assistance; summoning him according to the practice of the middle ages, that is to say, calling upon him to fix a period at the expiration of which they would be held absolved from their oaths of allegiance. It appears that the siege or blockade of these places was not conducted with much vigilance, for the envoys of the councils reached Seville without molestation. These, judging rightly that the king was not in a condition to lead an army into the north, asked his permission to become the liegemen of his ally the King of Navarre, rather than submit to Don Enrique. They represented to Don Pedro, that the cession of their territory might probably induce the King of Navarre to interpose in his behalf. Don Pedro, with his usual inflexibility, replied by enjoining them to defend their towns to the last extremity; but

* Ayala, p. 523.

he added, that if, through ill-fortune, he should find it impossible to succour them, he would prefer their yielding to Don Enrique than to the King of Navarre. "Remember," he said, "that before all else, it is of the highest importance that the Crown of Castile should be preserved intact."* A reply truly royal, and the more remarkable, inasmuch as at that period patriotism was almost unknown, and from the sovereign down to the lowest vassal no one was guided by any other principle of conduct than his own personal interest.

In the then melancholy state of Don Pedro's affairs, it was really magnanimous in that prince to uphold the integrity of the crown that he was about to yield to his mortal enemy. Unhappily, the town councils did not comprehend this noble language. The Navarrese king was at their gates, lavishing promises as liberally as was his wont; and Don Tello, acting in concert with him, had hastened to the spot, and was exhorting them to defection. This prince, envious and base as ever, thus hoped to secure the protection of the King of Navarre, and, moreover, was perfectly satisfied could he by any means thwart the projects of his brother. Logroño, Vittoria, Salvatierra, Santa Cruz de Campeszo, hung out the Navarrese banners from their walls.

The year 1368 was about to close, and the struggle still remained undecided. The successes and reverses were nearly equally balanced on both sides; but the

* Ayala, p. 532.

wretchedness of the country had reached its height. Andalucia was abandoned to the ravages of the infidels; Alava and Rioja sold to the foreigner; in all parts, towns were either laid under contribution, or given up to pillage; the people were trampled under foot by soldiers; anarchy and desolation prevailed everywhere. Such was the situation of a kingdom, formerly so flourishing, whilst under the dominion of one master.

Notwithstanding the apparent equality of the forces, it was not difficult to foresee the issue of the contest; and to predict that issue with certainty, it was only necessary to contrast the characters of the two princes who were disputing the possession of Castile. The inflexibility and pride of Don Pedro, deprived him daily of some of his partisans; while the suavity and liberality of Don Enrique, whether natural or assumed, gained him more adherents than the success of his arms. The one, eternally suspicious, never forgave a fault, and punished neutrality as severely as rebellion; the other, forgetful of injuries, treated the friends of a day as though their devotion to his cause had been of long continuance.

Don Pedro thought that his subjects, in sacrificing their lives for him, did no more than their duty; Don Enrique considered himself indebted to all who abstained from openly attacking him. But, what was certain, sooner or later, to induce the majority of the nobility and commons to rally around the Pretender was, that he was ready to submit to any conditions for the sake of obtaining power; whilst, on the contrary, Don Pedro, strong in the justice of his cause,

would not make a single concession, notwithstanding his ill-fortune.

Of all the neighbouring princes, the King of France was the only sovereign who took an active part in the affairs of Castile. The Kings of Aragon and Portugal preserved their neutrality with more or less honesty. The King of Navarre fortified himself in the territory he had just seized, and promised his alliance to each of the two rivals by turns. As to the Prince of Wales, he had been so impoverished by the last campaign, and was now so much occupied with preparations for the threatened war with France, that he had no leisure to attend to the affairs of the Peninsula.

Charles V., who had, ever since his late success, been Don Enrique's declared protector, had granted him subsidies, and, in default of an army, was about to send him the man whose military experience seemed alone sufficient to ensure victory. I have already named Bertrand Du Guesclin. As Edward's prisoner since the defeat at Najera, he had received from that prince the most honourable treatment; but Du Guesclin, when at the head of the French troops, had done England too much mischief for it to be judged prudent to restore him to liberty, at the very moment that France was threatening Guyenne with a formidable invasion. The prince's counsellors were unanimous in advising him to refuse to accept ransom for his prisoner. What signified the loss of a few thousand florins, so long as France would thereby be deprived of her most skilful general?

Du Guesclin, who had been taken to Bordeaux, was

there informed of this resolution by the English captains themselves, amongst whom he could reckon more than one admirer and friend. He had discovered the weak point of the Prince of Wales, he attacked Edward's pride. One day the prince, who took pleasure in conversing familiarly with his prisoner, asked him how his sojourn in Bordeaux had agreed with him, "My lord," replied Bertrand, with his usual assumed bluntness, "I was never better in my life; and indeed I ought to be well, for I am, though your prisoner, the most honoured knight in the world; the why and wherefore you must know." Edward betrayed surprise. "It is said in the kingdom of France," resumed the wily Breton, "that you dare not set me free." The stroke took instantaneous effect. "What, Messire Bertrand!" cried the prince, shuddering at the thought that he could be suspected of fearing any man living, "do you imagine that we stand in such dread of your prowess? Fix yourself the amount of your ransom. Let it be but a rush of straw, and I shall be satisfied." Du Guesclin, as Froissart tells us, immediately took him at his word; he would not, however, be reproached with suffering himself to be outdone in generosity. He passed for a poor man; his only possession was his body, to use an expression common in his time. "Poor knight that I am," said he, proudly, "I shall find in the purse of my friends a hundred thousand golden florins, and ample security for the payment."*

* Cuvelier, in his naïve old rhyming "Chronique de Bertrand Du Guesclin," makes his hero proudly add, "The very women of France alone, Monseigneur, would suffice to pay my ransom;

The prince was astonished, but would not humiliate the brave man's lofty spirit by refusing this enormous ransom. He foresaw that England would be a loser by the bargain, but he was too honourable to retract his word.* That same day, even, Chandos and other English captains offered Du Guesclin to advance him considerable sums, but he refused them politely, and hastened to write to France and Brittany to acquaint his friends with the price set upon his liberty. This noble confidence was not misplaced. There soon arrived at Bordeaux a large number of esquires, each carrying his master's seal, of which Bertrand was to make use when fixing the sum for which he taxed each of his friends, and for which purpose he had asked their seal. "A sacred sign," says Ayala, "because it bears the name and arms; that is to say, the honour of the knight."† Never was homage rendered more unanimously to military virtue. All France desired to purchase the release of the great captain; the king, however, personally undertook to pay the entire ransom of him whom he had already chosen as the instrument of his vast designs. He added to it a present of 30,000 golden francs to enable Bertrand to complete his equip-

there is not a single good housewife who would not turn her wheel for me the whole year long."—

"N'a filairesse en France, qui sache fil filer,
Qui ne gaignast ainçois ma finance à filer,
Qu'elles ne me volissent hors de vos las geter."

Quoted by Michelet.

* Froissart, Lib. I, second Part, cap. CCXLVII. Ayala, p. 466, and following.

† Ayala, p. 469.

ment.* As soon as the Breton was free, he made haste to ransom his best men-at-arms; then, after a short interview with the King of France, he speedily retook the road to Castile, at the head of five or six hundred men-at-arms, all picked troops, well armed and mounted. At that time, that is to say, at the commencement of the year 1369, war burst forth anew between France and England, and a large English army assembled in Guyenne. Charles V. must have attached great importance to the re-establishment of Don Enrique upon the Castilian throne, to deprive himself, in such circumstances, of his best captain and bravest troops. The event proved that he was not mistaken in his choice of an ally.

VI.

Du Guesclin, preceding his soldiers, rejoined Don Enrique before Toledo. The city was still closely blockaded, and famine began to be sensibly felt within its walls. The governor, Don Garci de Villodre, had been obliged to kill all the horses for the sustenance of the garrison. He wrote every day to Don Pedro, representing to him the horrors of his situation, and conjuring him not to abandon a faithful people who had, during ten months, been suffering the greatest privations through their devotion to their king. He added, moreover, that if Don Pedro delayed sending assistance, and did not personally oblige the enemy to raise the siege, famine would soon triumph over the heroic constancy of the Toledans. Don Pedro had passed

* Froissart, Lib. I, Cap. CCXLVII. Ayala, p. 470.

the greater part of the winter at Carmona, labouring without intermission in adding fresh works to the fortifications of the city. He had here laid up ammunition and provisions of all kinds; and after having exhausted his arsenals, had had the oars of his Seville gallies conveyed into this fortress, intending to convert them into arrows.* It is said that an astrologer,† having predicted that at a certain time he would be besieged, he endeavoured to render one of his fortresses impregnable. Having no confidence in the loyalty of the men of Seville, he had made choice of Carmona; first, on account of its position; secondly, because its scanty population could not fetter the resistance of a devoted garrison. Perhaps his intention was to await Don Enrique behind these impregnable ramparts; the

* Ayala, "Cron. de Don Enrique II.," p. 15.

† Ayala transcribes a letter which was sent by Benahatin, a learned Moor at the Court of Mohammed, King of Granada, to Don Pedro, with whom he was in the habit of corresponding. The Moor, in this letter, confidently announced to him his approaching death, resting his prediction on a prophecy promulgated many centuries earlier by our honoured and oracular countryman, Merlin. The passage he cited, according to the Spanish text of Merlin's previsions, runs as follows: "In the western world, between the mountains and the sea, shall there be born a black fowl, rapacious and greedy—so much so that it shall devour all the gold in the world, and when it has swallowed it, still shall the fowl seek for more. And when it shall not find wherewithal to satisfy its greed, its wings shall fall off, and the sun shall dry up its feathers, and it shall flee from gate to gate, and no one shall desire to receive it, and it shall hide itself in a wood, and there die twice, once to the world, and the second time to God." "Cronica de Don Pedro," p. 538. Mariana, Lib. XVII. Chap. XIII.—*T.*

entreaties of the Toledans, however, constrained him to change his resolution. Honour and policy alike forbade him to abandon subjects who were sacrificing their lives for him, and who, after having repelled the assaults of a powerful enemy, were on the point of yielding to famine. Towards the close of the winter, Don Pedro reassembled all his disposable troops, joined to them an auxiliary corps of Granadine horsemen; and after having issued orders for all his remaining partisans in the north to join him at the outlet of the Sierra Morena, he began his march, resolved to offer battle to Don Enrique under the walls of Toledo. In quitting Andalucia, he left in Carmona the children that he had had by different mistresses,* his treasure, and a strong garrison. Carmona was to be his last refuge should fortune desert him.

The king, leaving Seville, crossed the Sierra Morena by one of its easiest roads, probably following that which leads through Constantina, on the way to Llerena.† His march was slow, for a large convoy followed in his train, and he was continually stopping to wait for the reinforcements which were arriving from afar, at places previously agreed upon. After having, in

* The three daughters borne him by Maria de Padilla, it will be recollected, remained as hostages at Bayonne, under the care of the Prince of Wales.

† I have been unable to obtain precise information as to the exact point at which Don Pedro passed the Sierra Morena. His arrival at Calatrava, there to rally together the troops coming from Galicia, gives me reason to suppose that after leaving Seville, he marched straight towards the north: it was in that direction that he was likely to meet Don Fernando de Castro, who was on the road from Zamora.

the beginning of March, crossed without opposition the barrier of mountains which separates Andalucia from La Mancha, he halted on one of the wide table lands of that province, where formerly stood the magnificent castle of Calatrava, the chief fortress belonging to the military order of that name. He was then some twenty leagues distant from Toledo.

This army was composed of a militia furnished by the communities of Seville, Ecija, Carmona, and Jerez, besides his household troops and private vassals. Don Fernando de Castro, having traversed all Castile in order to join him, brought some troops from Galicia, and a detachment from the garrison of Zamora. Other corps which had been raised in Estremadura, and even in Castile, were also assembled at Calatrava. These different forces amounted in all to three thousand horsemen, men-at-arms, or Christian genetours, and fifteen hundred Granadine light horse. The infantry was, it seems, by no means numerous, and only included the four banners from those Andalucian cities which I have just named.

The direct road from Calatrava to Toledo lies across rugged mountains, whose passes may easily be defended by a handful of men. The king, fearing to meet any of the mountain bands, preferred making a long circuit, in order to gain the vast plains of La Mancha, where his cavalry might find forage, and a country favourable to his operations. Perhaps, moreover, Don Pedro wished, whilst pursuing his march,* to rally together the militia

* It is probable that the troops of Don Pedro, after leaving Andalucia, did not all cross the Sierra Morena at the same point. Those whom he had mustered at Jaen, or at Andujar, for instance,

of the kingdoms of Jaën and Murcia, which he was aware were on the road to join him, as well as the garrisons of a few towns on the Valencian frontier which still remained faithful to him. It was of importance to him to arrive before Toledo with a force superior to that of the besieging army, and in his position no reinforcement was to be despised. Whatever might be his design, instead of marching in a direct line towards the north, on quitting Calatrava, he turned towards the east, and encamped near Montiel, a rich commandery of Santiago, whose governor, Garci Moran was one of his old servants.*

On receiving intelligence of this march, Don Enrique assembled all his captains, and consulted them on the course he should pursue. All were of opinion that Don Pedro should be anticipated, and attacked before he presented himself at the gates of Toledo. Part of the army† should remain to guard the works of circumvallation, whilst the remainder were despatched to meet the enemy. Leaving all his infantry in the intrenchments, Don Enrique advanced in person with his finest troops to Orgaz on the confines of La Mancha, to watch the movements of his adversary. At the same time he wrote to Gonzalo Mexia, Master of Santiago,

doubtless entered La Mancha by the valley of La Jandula (the road by Despeña Perros was not yet practicable). For these divisions Montiel was the most suitable rallying point.

* Ayala, p. 513.

† The men left before Toledo were under the command of Gomez Manrique, Archbishop of Toledo, Froissart says Don Tello: that Prince was, however, at that time in the north.

urging him to come to his assistance as quickly as possible, with as many troops as could be spared without too much weakening the garrison of Cordova. Thus on either side separate detachments were hastening to the assistance of the main army, and the two rivals were preparing to appear on the field of battle accompanied by their best soldiers.

Gonzalo Mexia, with about 1500 horsemen crossed the Sierra Morena by the road leading from Cordova to Ciudad Rodrigo, and, on entering La Mancha, came up with the right flank of the royal army, which had crossed the mountains much further to the west. He observed its march, keeping at a sufficient distance to prevent his own troops from being attacked, and sufficiently in advance to impede or intercept the king's communications with his adherents in Castile.* Near Orgaz he united his forces with those of Don Enrique, who had just been joined by the six hundred French lances of Du Guesclin. By means of this double reinforcement, the Pretender's army counted three thousand men-at-arms, all experienced veterans; but he had no infantry, and little or no light cavalry. Notwithstanding his numerical inferiority, the ardour which was displayed by his troops, and the confidence of the French captains encouraged him to march straight forward upon Montiel.

† Ayala, p. 545. It is evident that the Master of Santiago could only have quitted Cordova whilst Don Pedro was to the north of the Sierra Morena. Now, in order to precede him on the road to Toledo, the King must have passed either into Estremadura, or into the western part of La Mancha.

The detachment which set out from Cordova with the Master of Santiago, had prevented Don Pedro from reconnoitring, he was persuaded that Don Enrique was awaiting him under the walls of Toledo, and so great was his feeling of security, that on arriving at Montiel he allowed his troops to disperse throughout the neighbouring villages in search of provisions and forage; a distance of several leagues separated the different corps of his army, and meantime, Don Enrique, whose spies supplied him with exact information of every movement, was only a day's march from Montiel.

On the night of the thirteenth or fourteenth of March, the sentinel of the castle of Montiel, where Don Pedro had taken up his quarters, signalled a large number of fires moving amongst the mountains within two leagues distance. These fires were the torches carried by the advanced guard of Du Guesclin, which advancing across the country in the midst of the darkness, thus indicated its route to the rest of the army. Garci Moran, the governor, awoke the king to communicate the sentinel's report, but Don Pedro assured him there was no ground for anxiety; that these fires proceeded from the battalion of Gonzalo Mexia, the Master, who had been endeavouring to escape him for several days past.* At the same time, by an excess of precaution, as it seemed to him, he despatched some genetours to reconnoitre the number and appearance of these troops, and then tranquilly lay down again to sleep. At day-break, these horsemen returned at full gallop with the infor-

* Ayala, p. 548.

mation that the enemy, with his whole force, was close upon them. Don Enrique, in fact, was already in sight of Montiel. His troops were rapidly advancing in two battalions: the vanguard, under the command of Du Guesclin, composed of the cavalleros of the military orders, and the Knights Companions; the reserve, which was much more numerous, led by the Pretender in person.

Don Pedro's banner was immediately raised, and around it were ranged the ballesteros of the guard, the household troops, and the fifteen hundred Granadine horsemen, who formed his ordinary escort; these were the only troops he then had at hand. He despatched couriers in all directions with instructions that his scattered bands should instantly rally around the castle, which he appointed as the general place of meeting. But already had the action begun, and the bulk of the enemy was charging furiously his little troop, which was still in disorder, and *surprise sur un pied*, to use the picturesque expression of Froissart.* Meanwhile, the battalion of Du Guesclin had, through some fault of his guides, lost time in crossing a difficult ravine,† and had been preceded by the rear-guard, which under better guidance, marched straight against the royal banner, and fell impetuously upon the small number of men-at-arms by whom it was defended. It was a surprise rather than a fight. Don Pedro, however, sustained vigorously the first shock; but soon, overwhelmed by numbers, his guard gave way, and the

* Froissart, liv. I, part II, chap. CCLIII.

† Ayala, p. 549.

arrival of Du Guesclin completed the rout, rendering every attempt at rallying useless. The panic became general. The king, borne away in the stream of fugitives, threw himself with a few of the nobles of his suite into the castle of Montiel : he had however been recognized by his armour. The Bègue de Vilaines, one of the French captains, followed him to the barrier, before which the Frenchman at once planted his standard, as a rallying mark to the men-at-arms who had abandoned their leader to pursue the fugitives.* As for the other divisions of the king's army, they were put to flight one after another as soon as they appeared, or perhaps dispersed of their own accord, on learning the defeat of the main body. Martin Lopez,† assembling

* Froissart, chap. CCLXIV.

† The fate of Martin Lopez de Cordova may be told in a few words. On his arrival at Carmona he shut himself up in that place, and there for some time set the new King of Castile at defiance. At last, on the failure of provisions, he surrendered the town on condition that his life should be spared, a promise that Don Enrique did not hesitate to give, nor on obtaining possession of Carmona, to break. Don Martin Lopez de Cordova was sent to Seville, and there put to death, despite the protestations of the Master of Santiago, who had pledged his word for Cordova's safety.

At Zamora, similar barbarities were enacted. Alonso Lopez de Texeda bravely defended that city, after the base betrayal of Don Pedro by Du Guesclin, against the bastard, who slew three of Texeda's sons before their father's face, in the hope of forcing the governor to surrender. That intrepid man, however, still held out, and when pestilence had carried off the greater part of his garrison, he left Zamora by night, and taking with him the keys of the city, fled into Portugal. "The heroic fidelity," writes Dr. Southey, "displayed here and at Carmona in the cause of Pedro

about eight hundred horsemen, precipitately recrossed the mountains, and succeeded in gaining Carmona without opposition. Never did victory cost less bloodshed. Only one noble of distinction on the side of Don Pedro, namely Juan Jimenez of Cordova, lost his life;* for the conqueror, on being apprized that the king was in Montiel, did not give chase, but returned to block up all the avenues of the castle. The Moorish auxiliaries, however, who were recognised by their costume, and tracked on all sides by the peasants of La Mancha and Andalucia, were nearly all cut to pieces. One hour had sufficed to reduce Don Pedro to the narrow limits of a castle indifferently fortified, and almost destitute of provisions and ammunition.†

after his death, evinces that that Prince, furious as he was in his fits of anger, had qualities which made him faithfully and affectionately beloved; and the cruelties which Enrique perpetrated at both places, incontestibly prove that the successful brother was the more atrocious of the two. This was not," adds the Doctor, the only iniquity which Enrique committed at Zamora: 'diose al rey a pleytesia,' says the old chronicler of Pero Nino, 'e si el rey ge la tovo, non es mio de escrebir.'"

* Ayala, p. 549.

† We have already seen that Don Pedro, notwithstanding his constitutional hardihood, was not entirely proof against the contagious superstition of his age. It is said that Don Pedro's natural uneasiness in his uncomfortable position of blockade at Montiel was augmented not a little by reading the inscription traced on the wall of one of the towers of the castle: "Esta es la Torre de la Estrella." "This is the Tower of the Star." For it had been foretold to the king, by certain astrologers unknown, that he should die in a tower of that name, and the apprehension thus excited in his mind was reported to have induced him to adopt the desperate expedient of endea-

VIII.

By the extraordinary activity which the conquerors displayed in surrounding the ramparts of Montiel with wide trenches and stone walls, and the care they took to watch all the outlets of the castle, the unfortunate king must have seen but too well that his retreat was known, and his enemy preparing to force it. He endeavoured, however, by a kind of feint to delude the besiegers, and by his command, Garci Moran, the governor, despatched a herald to them, offering to surrender the place within a month, if King Don Pedro did not appear with a sufficient force to oblige them to renounce their enterprise. This message was received with scornful mockery. The answer returned was, that before the end of a month both the castle and Don Pedro would be in Don Enrique's power. There was no hope of effecting a passage sword in hand, or of deceiving the vigilance of the numerous guards who day and night kept watch over the hastily formed intrenchments. One chance of safety alone remained, this was to buy over some of the foreign captains in Don Enrique's service. It was still hoped that these mercenaries might be won by gold, to furnish the king with the means of escape. Men Rodriguez de Senabria, whose intelligence and fidelity had been proved on several occasions, was entrusted by Don Pedro with this negociation. When governor of Briviesca in 1366, he alone had given an example of desperate resistance, while all the other

vouring to gain over Du Guesclin to his side. "Sumario de los Reyes de España," p. 75.—*T.*

captains in the king's service lowered their drawbridges before the banners of the Adventurers. He was a native of the condado de Trastamara, and consequently was now liegeman to Du Guesclin, who had received from Don Enrique the title of Conde de Trastamara, the title borne by the bastard himself previous to his coronation.

After the taking of Briviesca, Du Guesclin, who honoured bravery even in an enemy, and might probably wish to win the affection of his new vassals, had ransomed Men Rodriguez at his own expense, and endeavoured, though ineffectually, to induce that cavallero to enter the service of Don Enrique. The generosity of the French captain appears to have made a lively impression on his prisoner, and they parted, not only with courtesy, but with true cordiality. It was upon the strength of these few days' intercourse, that Men Rodriguez founded the hope of saving his master. He requested a private interview with Du Guesclin, and having obtained his consent, repaired by night to the Frenchman's quarters; and there, alone in the tent of the enemy, he announced without circumlocution that he was sent by Don Pedro, and had come to entreat him to save that unhappy prince from the vengeance of his enemies. "His gratitude," added Rodriguez, "would be proportionate to the greatness of the service. And I, on my part, Messire Bertrand, conjure you to take pity upon so noble a king. It will redound to your honour when all the world shall know, that it is to you alone that he owes his life and kingdom." Du Guesclin, somewhat astonished at the proposal, replied by reminding Senabria that he was the subject of the

King of France and in the pay of Don Enrique. "Friend," he said, "you, who have so lately received some courtesy from me, ought not to address to me such language as this. I am sent here by my lord, the King of France, to fight an ally of England, I should fail in my honour were I to save my master's enemy." Men Rodriguez redoubled his offers and entreaties. "If," he said, "you consent to place the king in safety, he promises to give you the towns of Soria, Atienza, Almazan, Monteagudo, Deza, and Seron in heritage, besides 200,000 Castilian gold doubloons. You shall be the first man in the kingdom, and Don Pedro will ever regard you as his deliverer, and as the firmest support of his crown." Bertrand listened to him in silence and with apparent indifference, he then abruptly put an end to the conference, requesting time to reflect upon the proposal, and to consult his comrades. Men Rodriguez, persuaded that the golden bait would have more effect upon the Knights Companions than upon their chief, returned full of hope to the castle of Montiel.

Du Guesclin immediately assembled his relatives and friends, and informed them of the offers he had just received, at the same time declaring that it was his fixed determination to do nothing against the interest of his lord the King of France, or of Don Enrique, in whose service he was at present engaged. He only desired, he said, to consult his companions in arms on a point of chivalric honour;—should he, ought he to communicate to Don Enrique the overtures of Men Rodriguez All were of opinion that it was Du

Guesclin's duty to inform the Bastard of what had occurred, adding that no terms need be kept with a prince who had the audacity to propose such an act of treachery.* According to these military casuists, the offers transmitted to Du Guesclin, being contrary to the laws of chivalry, he who made them had forfeited all claim to be treated as a knight. In other words, the temptation to commit one act of treachery justified the commission of another. I dwell upon these subtleties because they illustrate the habits of thought prevalent in the middle ages, and to a certain degree excuse the disloyal conduct of a man, whose great services have rendered his name dear to all Frenchmen. We can only estimate an action rightly by taking into consideration the motives prompting it, or the train of ideas which influence the parties concerned, and I would fain hope that Du Guesclin believed himself justified in retaliating upon an enemy who by his attempt to seduce loyal knights from their duty, had committed a serious offence against the laws of chivalry.

The result of this consultation between the French captains was, that Don Enrique, being informed by Bertrand of the whole transaction, assured the Breton knight in the first place, that he would take upon himself the fulfilment of Don Pedro's promises, and bestow upon Du Guesclin both the lordships and the enormous ransom which had just been offered him.* He then begged Bertrand to entice the king out of the castle by feigning to agree to his proposals; Du Gues-

* Ayala, p. 551, and following.

† Ayala, p. 554.

clin hesitated; his companions joined Don Enrique in labouring to overcome his scruples, and meanwhile mysterious parleys and interviews were kept up with Men Rodriguez. What kind of promises were exchanged on either side remains unknown, but it seems certain that Don Pedro was led to believe that he might count upon Du Guesclin's good offices.

These negociations lasted several days, and the castle, encumbered with inmates, was already reduced to the last extremity. Provisions, even water, must soon fail; there was no alternative but flight, or surrender. Ayala, perhaps an eye-witness of the scenes I am about to relate, admits that the unfortunate Don Pedro received the most solemn oaths from some French captains sent as envoys from Du Guesclin, or who at least pretended to be such.* However that might be, from the time that the negociation had been revealed to Don Enrique, it could hardly fail to be directed to the advancement of his interests, and in accordance with his instructions. Now the Pretender dreaded a capitulation, for the Ricos Hombres of his party would most certainly have insisted upon dictating its terms. He did not feel sufficiently strong to pronounce judgment upon his brother and his king, and he feared that his own partisans would want the courage to condemn their legitimate lord and sovereign. According to all appearance, the French captains had no idea that the life of the monarch whom they were betraying was in danger, and I am inclined to believe that they had even made some stipulations in that respect with Don Enrique. The Pretender,

* Ayala, p. 554. Compare with the Abrev.

however, having firmly resolved on Don Pedro's destruction, coolly calculated upon the means for effecting it. In those days a king might be killed, although he could not be brought to judgment; his death must therefore be the result of accident, of a species of chance. And this was the reason that Don Enrique, knowing the desperate condition of Montiel, did not await the time when famine must infallibly deliver his enemy into his hands, but took advantage of these negociations to lay a snare for him, the precise motive of which the French captains did not perhaps understand.

On the night of the 23rd of March, 1369, ten days after the battle of Montiel, Don Pedro, accompanied by Men Rodriguez,* Don Fernando de Castro, and some other knights, secretly left the fortress, and repaired to the quarters of the French Adventurers. They had all bound cloth round the shoes of their horses to prevent the noise of hoofs being heard, and then leading them by the bridle, descended the eminence on which

* Men Rodriguez, on the death of Don Pedro, became the prisoner of one of the French captains. He afterwards took refuge in Portugal, whose king, as great grandson of Sancho el Bravo, laid claim to the crown of Castile. Don Fernando de Castro, the truest of the late king's friends, on obtaining his freedom, kept Galicia for some time in a state of insurrection against his ancient enemy, the bastard, but, on the total rout of his forces by Pero Ruiz de Sarmiento and Pedro Manrique, Don Enrique's lieutenants, he also fled into Portugal. On Castile concluding a peace with Portugal, he retired into Guyenne, where he died. Over his tomb was written the following inscription: "Aqui yace Don Fernando Perez de Castro, toda la fidelitad de España."—*T.*

the castle stood. The king had exchanged his usual dress for a light coat of mail, and had thrown a large cloak over him. The sentinels had received their instructions beforehand, and allowed him to pass the line of circumvallation, a kind of wall constructed with loose stones, which had been hastily erected around Montiel; they then led him to Du Guesclin, who, surrounded by his captains, was waiting for him on the other side of the wall. "To horse, Messire Bertrand," said the king, accosting him in a low voice, "it is time to set out." No answer was returned. This silence, and the evident embarrassment of the French, seemed an evil augury to Don Pedro. He made an attempt to vault into his saddle, but a man-at-arms was already holding his horse's bridle. He was surrounded. He was desired to wait in a neighbouring tent.* Resistance was impossible, he followed his guides.

A few minutes of mortal silence ensued. Suddenly, from amidst the circle formed around the king, there appeared a man armed at all points, his vizor up; it was Don Enrique. The circle respectfully make way for him. He stands before his brother face to face. They had not seen each other for fifteen years. Don Enrique gazed searchingly at the cavalleros from Montiel, his eyes wandering from one to another. "Where then is this bastard," he said, "this Jew, who calls himself King of Castile?"† A French esquire points

* That of Yvron de Lakonnet, according to Froissart, l. I, p. II. ch. CCLIV.

† I follow Froissart's version in this particular as being the most probable; the intention of Don Enrique was evidently to provoke Don Pedro, in order that he might have a pretext for or killing him.

to Don Pedro. "There," he said, "stands your enemy." Don Enrique, still uncertain, regarded him fixedly. "Yes it is I,"* exclaimed Don Pedro, "I, the King of Castile. All the world knows that I am the legitimate son of good King Alfonso. Thou art the bastard!" Immediately Don Enrique, rejoiced at having provoked this insult, draws his dagger and strikes him lightly on the face. The brothers were too near each other in the narrow circle formed by the Knights Companions to draw their long swords. They seize each other by the waist, and struggle furiously for some time without any one attempting to separate them. Those around even draw back to give them room. Without loosing hold, they both fall on a camp bed in a corner of the tent, but Don Pedro, who was not only taller but stronger than his brother, held Don Enrique under him. He was seeking for a weapon to pierce him through, when an Aragonese cavallero, the Vizconde de Rocaberti, seizing Don Pedro by the foot, threw him on one side, so that Don Enrique, who was still clinging to his brother, found himself uppermost. He picked up his poniard, and raising the king's coat of mail, plunged it again and again into his side. The arms of Don Pedro cease to clasp his enemy, and Don Enrique disengaging himself, several of his followers despatch the dying man. Amongst the knights who accompanied Don Pedro, two only, a Castilian and an Englishman, endeavoured to defend him.† They

* Compare Ayala, p. 556, and Froissart, 1, cap. CCXLII.

† According to Froissart, the two men who drew swords for the betrayed monarch were Sir Ralph Holmes and James Rowland. Froissart, vol. I, cap. CCXLII.—*T.*

were cut to pieces. The others surrendered without offering resistance, and were humanely treated by the French captains.* Don Enrique had his brother's head cut off, and sent to Seville.†

* The popular tradition is, that one of the Adventurers, evidently considering this struggle between the two kings a spectacle worth witnessing, cried out, "Fair play!" According to another version, it was Du Guesclin who threw Don Pedro over, saying, "I neither make nor unmake kings, but I serve my lord." We all know that popular legends generally introduce heroic characters as performers in their scenes. The Vizconde de Rocaberti is named by Froissart and an anonymous Catalan author, cited by Señor de Llaguno ad Ayala, p. 555. Compare Froissart, chap. CCLIV. Molina, "Descripcion del regno de Galicia;" quoted by Argote de Molina, attributes the same action and words to an esquire of Don Enrique, named Fernando Perez de Andrada, who, it is said, was recompensed with castles and lands. *Vide* "Romances del Rey Don Pedro."—Froissart, in his narrative of the adventure, says not a word of the negociations between Don Pedro and Du Guesclin. The death of the king, according to the French chronicler, must have been entirely fortuitous. Unhappily, appearances are quite contrary to this version, and the extrordinary favours lavished by Don Enrique, upon the Breton, confirm only too well the narration of Ayala.

† Carbonell, p. 197. The anonymous Catalan author before cited by M. Merimée, represents Don Enrique as cutting off his brother's head with his own hand, and throwing it outside the tent. *Llaguno's edition of Ayala*, p. 556. For three days the body of Don Pedro was left unburied, exposed to the public gaze, and then interred at Montiel, in a convent of Franciscan friars, twelve of whom were appointed to pray for his soul. His remains were afterwards carried without any pomp to Alcocer, and there deposited in the Church of San Iago, from whence, in 1446, they were, by command of King Juan II., translated to the royal monastery of San Domingo el Real, their present abiding place.—*T.*

IX.

Thus perished Don Pedro by the hand of his brother at the age of thirty-five years and seven months. He was of a good height, robust, and well proportioned. His features were regular, his complexion clear and fresh. If we may judge by his painted statue, which is still to be seen at Madrid, in the convent of the nuns of San Domingo,* he had black eyes and hair, although tradition gives him blue eyes and hair of a deep red. He was more than ordinarily active, and took delight in all violent exercises: his abstemiousness was extraordinary, even in his country, where the excesses of the table are unknown. A few hours' sleep sufficed for him. He spoke with facility and grace; but he never lost that slightly mincing accent peculiar to Sevillians. Brought up under the burning sun of Andalucia, and surrounded with temptations from his earliest years, he loved women passionately, but with the exception of Maria de Padilla, none of his mistresses obtained any influence over his mind. Some authors accuse him of avarice, and in proof refer to the diligence which he displayed all his life in amassing treasure, and also to the jewellery and large sums found after his death in the castle of Carmona. It is true that he never lost an opportunity of augmenting the domains of the crown, a policy quite different to that of

* This statue, independently of the great individuality it exhibits, inspires the more confidence, inasmuch as it was executed by command of Don Pedro's grand-daughter, Doña Constanza de Castilla, prioress of San Domingo.

his adversary, Don Enrique, who was generous to prodigality. I believe, however, that Don Pedro had only the appearance of that contemptible vice with which he has been reproached by historians. In my opinion, he valued money only for the sake of the power it gives. The love of empire was his great passion, and in an age like his, to be rich was to be powerful.

The first lesson in policy that he received was a bitter one. At Toro he had to purchase his liberty and crown from his rebellious and aspiring vassals. Betrayed again and again by those whom his father and himself had loaded with benefits, by his brothers, and even by his mother, he early became distrustful and suspicious, frequently indeed unjust towards his most faithful servants. His dissimulation and repeated treachery were the vices of the period in which he lived. They were, if I may so express myself, the necessary and perhaps the natural accompaniments of royalty in the middle ages. He wished to govern alone, and, in order to be obeyed, he began by making himself feared. He succeeded but too easily. The grandees and prelates, however, did not submit without a struggle to the yoke he desired to impose upon them. All contradiction rendered him more absolute. He maintained an inveterate warfare with the clergy and nobility; thus attacking, at one aud the same time, the most formidable enemies of royalty. The people, who were oppressed by the Ricos Hombres, saw with pleasure the royal power augment, and gather strength amid the ruins of ancient feudal anarchy. Besides, the severity of Don Pedro only affected the

nobles; and it may be unhesitatingly said, that the individuals upon whom it was exercised, were generally traitors to their country, as well as to their sovereign. He appeared harsh and unrelenting in punishing the rebellions which were incessantly renewed by his factious nobility; but, while he struck off the most illustrious heads in his kingdom, the people breathed more freely, and lauded the justice of a master who exacted a like obedience from the rich and poor. In the fourteenth century, an impartial despotism was rather beneficial than otherwise to the people. The Jews and Mussulmen, who took no part in the political contests which divided Castile, invoked blessings upon him as the best of rulers, because he encouraged industry, commerce, and the arts, and because his despotism was mild, whenever he met with submissive slaves. When the Aragonese war had constrained him to augment the taxes, and employ on distant expeditions the civic militia, who were unaccustomed to take up arms, except in defence of their own walls, Don Pedro rapidly lost his popularity, and the instant that a foreign army appeared, and dispelled the terror inspired by his never-ending severities, his power crumbled to pieces like an edifice built upon the sand. Feudal anarchy regained the ascendancy, and the despot was disarmed in the midst of his slaves. From that moment the magic of his authority was destroyed. Vainly did the English soldiers re-establish him upon the throne: he again lost his kingdom as soon as they had recrossed the mountains.

Three princes of the name of Pedro reigned in the

Peninsula at the same time, and all three received from their contemporaries the surname of Pedro the Cruel. They all had the same end in view, that of lessening the power of the great vassals, of putting an end to feudal anarchy. We should grossly deceive ourselves did we imagine that these princes were in the least degree prompted by patriotic motives. They had no other object than the furtherance of their own ambition. Don Pedro of Castile, however, appears to have thought more of the glory, welfare, and greatness of his country, than did his namesakes. I do not know any monarch of that age but himself who would have said, "Rather let my enemy triumph, than my kingdom be dismembered."

To the misfortunes of his peculiar situation, Don Pedro added great faults of his own. He was too violent, much too inflexible in the pursuit of his projects, yielding always to the impulse of the moment, rather than attending to the counsels of prudence. He ought to have endeavoured to divide his enemies; but, on the contrary, he gave them the opportunity of uniting, without taking his own strength into account. He ventured to stand alone against his nobility, his clergy, and powerful neighbours. The enterprise he undertook was perhaps one almost unprecedented at the epoch when he dared to conceive it; but at least he paved the way for the establishment of the royal power in Spain; and when the time had arrived for delivering the country for ever from the tyranny of the great vassals, Don Pedro and his bold policy were remembered.

The Catholic sovereigns, who, more fortunate than

their predecessor, accomplished the work commenced by Don Pedro, duly appreciated his courage, and the obstacles against which he contended so vainly and fatally. Queen Isabel, the first of his descendants who protested against the surname which dishonoured his memory, desired that he should no longer be called Pedro el Cruel; but, following the example of the people, who never wholly forget any prince who has done them some good service, she called him Pedro el Justiciero.*

* Another powerful, it would be a misapplication of terms to call him a great, monarch, followed in Queen Isabel's wake. "El rey Don Felipe Segundo," writes Zuniga, "diò precepto de llamarlo justiciero, mas nunca se le borrarà el titulo de Cruel."—Anales de Sevilla, año 1369.—*T.*

APPENDIX.

The archæologist may probably be interested in a description of the tombs contained in the church of Santa Maria, and despoiled of their ornaments by Don Pedro. I therefore insert here an extract from a manuscript of the year 1345, which is quoted by Zuñiga, who had copied it from the library of the Conde de Villahumbrosa.

"Whoever desires to know how King Don Fernando the Good, the holy man who won Seville, and Queen Beatriz his wife, and King Don Alfonso his son, are honoured in the chapel of the holy and noble church of Santa Maria at Seville, and also of the rich ornaments of gold and silver, and precious stones, let him attend to the following recital:

"They are represented in their natural form before the image of Our Lady, their sculptured forms all covered with silver, and before them their insignias of castles and lions, eagles, and crosses.

"First is seen the image of Our Lady, who appears alive, in flesh and bone, with her Son in her arms, in a wonderfully large tabernacle, higher than those of the kings, and entirely covered with silver; and fail not to notice that the image of the Virgin is so constructed by mechanical art, that she may be raised and seated again, when it is necessary to clothe her and her Son.

And their dresses are of crimson, short and long robes, and cloaks, (mantos, pelotes); and the image of Our Lady wears a golden crown, in which are a great many very large stones, sapphires, emeralds, and topazes. Her Son has a like crown, and it is reported that the two cost King Don Alfonso more than a million of money.

"Now on one finger of the image of Our Lady may be seen a golden ring, in which is set a ruby as large as a filbert, and it is said that in the tabernacle, and upon the images of the Virgin and her Son, there are ten thousand silver marks, as well as two thousand stones, sapphires, rubies, emeralds, topazes and others equally precious; they are, however, for the most part but small in size.

"Item, just above, over the crown of Our Lady are four emeralds, forming a square, each large as chestnuts, and above them a ruby of the size of a nut; and when the tabernacle is opened in the night time, however dark it may be, these said stones give forth as much light as blazing candles. Before the image of Our Lady, lower down, are three tabernacles covered with silver, all similarly adorned with castles, lions, eagles, and crosses, and in which are the figures of the kings. At the left hand of the image of Our Lady in her chair, is seated good King Don Fernando in his chair, and on the other side, Queen Beatriz, likewise seated in her chair, all which chairs are covered with silver. The three are attired in their magnificent robes and mantles, and it is said, that beneath them are their shirts and under linen. King Don Alfonso wears a gold crown studded with precious stones. He holds in his right hand a silver wand with a dove upon it, and in the left a golden ball with a cross. In the midst is King Don Fernando his father, sitting in his silver chair.

"The said King Don Fernando wears a crown of gold upon his head, and sumptuous garments like the others before mentioned, and in his right hand, he holds an immense sword, which is said to possess marvellous virtue, it is that one with which he gained Seville. On the hilt of this same sword is a large ruby, like an egg in size, and on the cross of the sword, is a bright green emerald. Those who wish to be cured of any malady they may have,

kiss the sword, and are immediately restored to health. In his left hand he hólds the scabbard of his sword, in which are set many precious stones. Lastly, Queen Beatriz is clothed in a blue dress, wearing on her head a crown of gold, with abundance of precious stones, and appearing the most beautiful woman in the world.

" All three are seated in their niches or tabernacles, seated on their silver chairs, with their sepulchres in front of them, all covered with silver and with lighted tapers, which consume, night and day, many pounds of wax, and above them are four silver lamps, which are also burning by day as well as night.

" All this is entrusted to the care of six men, and here every day are repeated seven masses; and the whole cost is forty thousand maravedis yearly.

" The present account is taken from a book of Herman Parez de Guzman, which was written in the year of the Era 1383 (1345), two hundred and twenty-five years ago, it was extracted on the 15th of July, 1570." Zuniga, " Anales de Sevilla," tome II. p. 143.

(B). Passport given by the King of Aragon to Gonzalo Mexia, as envoy from the Conde de Trastamara to Don Fadrique.

Don Pedre por la gracia de Dios, rey d'Aragon, etc., a los nobles et amados richos hombres e cavalleros d'Aragon et al Regiente l'oficio de la dita governatio et a todos justicias, jurados y otros oficiales et subditos nuestros a los quales las presentes pervendran, salutem et dilectionem. Sabet que Gonçalvo Mexia de Ponte deve ir de mandado del conde de Trastamera al maestre de la orden de la cavalleria de Sent Jago su hermano por algunos afferes; por que nos, con la presente guiamos et asseguramos el dito Gonçalvo Mexia con todos aquellos assi de cavallo como de pie que iran y vernan con el dito Gonçalvo Mexia, assi que por nos ni por vos ni por algun oficial o subdito nuestro non puedan seer presos; ni danyo alguno les pueda seer dado ni feyto en iendo e viniendo una o muytas vegadas del dito conde al dito maestre e del dito maestro al dito conde, ni estando con el dito conde, en personas ni en bienes, ante puedan venir, estar, et tornar salva-

ment e segurament, cessando toda inquietation, por que a vos e a cadauno de vos dezimos et mandamos expressament quel dito guiatge guardedes et observades e tengades firmament sin contradiction alguna. Dada en Caranyena a xxviij dias andados de deziembre en el anyo de la Natividat del nuestro Senyor MCCC. L. VII. Rex Petrus.

(C) ROMANCE OF DON FADRIQUE.*

"Yo me estaba allá en Coimbre."

I sat alone in Coimbra†—the town myself had ta'en,
When came into my chamber a messenger from Spain.
There was no treason in his look, an honest look he wore;
I from his hand the letter took—my brother's seal it bore.

"Come, brother dear, the day draws near, (t'was thus bespoke the King)
For plenar court and knightly sport within the listed ring."
Alas! unhappy master, I easy credence lent,
Alas! for fast and faster I at his bidding went.

When I set off from Coimbra, and passed the bound of Spain,
I had a goodly company of spearmen in my train;
A gallant force, a score of horse, and sturdy mules thirteen:
With joyful heart I held my course—my years were young and green.

A journey of good fifteen days within the week was done,
I halted not, though signs I got, dark tokens many a one;

* The English translations of the Spanish ballads, given by M. Merimée, are taken from Mr. Lockhart's "Ancient Spanish Ballads." For the "Lament of Queen Blanche," I am indebted to a friend.

† For "Coimbra," read "Jumilla." We may infer from this error, that the romance was composed during a war between Spain and Portugal.

A strong stream mastered horse and mule—I lost my poniard fine,
And left a page within the pool—a faithful page of mine.

Yet on to proud Seville I rode; when to the gate I came,
Before me stood a man of God to warn me from the same;
The words he spake I would not hear, his grief I would not see,
"I seek," said I, "my brother dear, I will not stop for thee."

No lists were closed upon the sand, for royal tourney dight,
No pawing horse was seen to stand—I saw no armed knight;
Yet aye I gave my mule the spur, and hastened through the town,
I stopped before his palace door, then gaily leapt I down.

They shut the door, my trusty score of friends were left behind;
I would not hear their whispered fear, no harm was in my mind;
I greeted Pedro, but he turned—I wot his look was cold;
His brother from his knee he spurned;—"Stand off, thou Master bold!"

"Stand off, stand off, thou traitor strong!" 'twas thus he said to me,
"Thy time on earth shall not be long—what brings thee to my knee?
My lady craves a new year's gift, and I will keep my word,
Thy head, methinks, may serve the shift—good yeoman, draw thy sword!"

The Master lay upon the floor, ere well that word was said,
Then in a charger off they bore his pale and bloody head;
They brought it to Padilla's chair,—they bowed them on the knee;
"King Pedro greets thee, lady fair, this gift he sends to thee."

She gazed upon the Master's head, her scorn it could not scare,
And cruel were the words she said, and proud her glances were;

"Thou now shalt pay, thou traitor base! the debt of many a year;
My dog shall lick that haughty face; no more that lip shall sneer."

She seized it by the clotted hair, and o'er the window flung;
The mastiff smelt it in his lair, forth at her cry he sprung;
The mastiff that had crouched so low to lick the Master's hand,
He tossed the morsel to and fro, and licked it on the sand.

And ever as the mastiff tore his bloody teeth were shewn,
With growl and snort he made his sport, and picked it to the bone;
The baying of the beast was loud and swiftly on the street,
There gathered round a gaping crowd to see the mastiff eat.

Then out and spake King Pedro,—"What governance is this?
The rabble rout, my gate without, torment my dogs I wiss."
Then out and spoke King Pedro's page, "It is the Master's head;
The mastiff tears it in his rage—therewith they him have fed."

Then out and spoke the ancient nurse that nursed the brothers twain,
"On thee, King Pedro, lies the curse—thy brother thou hast slain;
A thousand harlots there may be within the realm of Spain,
But where is she can give to thee thy brother back again?"

Came darkness o'er King Pedro's brow, when thus he heard her say;
He sorely rued the accursed vow he had fulfilled that day.
He passed unto his paramour, where on her couch she lay,
Leaning from out her painted bower, to see the mastiff's play.

He drew her to a dungeon dark—a dungeon strong and deep;
"My father's son lies stiff and stark, and there are few to weep;
Fadrique's blood for vengeance calls, his cry is in mine ear;
Thou art the cause, thou harlot false! in darkness lie thou here."

J. G. LOCKHART.

(D) Instructions given to the Conde de Trastamara.

Capitols feytos por part del senyor rey sobre aquello quel conte de Trastamera ha de fazer por el dito señyor rey en caso quel dito conte use de la procuracion que se ha feyto en los casos siguientes. Tarazona. Ir dia de marzo MCCCLX.

Primerament. Quiere el dito senyor que en caso quel dito conte, como a procurador del dito senyor rey, obligar el dito senyor rey de non fazer paz ni abiniencia con el rey de Castiella sin aquellos que tomaran su voz, et que asi mismo faga obligar aquellos, que non faran paz ni abiniencia con el rey de Castiella sin voluntat e consentimiento del dito senyor rey.

Item. Que aquellos que tomaran voz con el dito conte por servicio del dito senyor rey, no obedecerem al dito rey de Castiella tro que haya feyta paz ferma con el dito senyor rey e sus vasallos e valedores.

Item. Si al dito conte parecerà que las ditas cosas o algunas de aquellas non sean fazederas, ó non las podiesse acabar, en aquello caso fiziesse el en su nombre sus posturas con los sobreditos en la dita forma, o como à el serà, con condicion quel dito conte sea tenido de servir al dito senyor rey con aquellos conque avrà feyto las ditas posturas e fazer guerra e paz con el contra el dito rey de Castiella.

(E) Extract from the judgment of the legate, Guy de Boulogne, upon the sentence of treason pronounced by Don Pedro against Don Enrique, Pedro Carrillo, and Gomez Carrillo:

... Rex Castelle predictus non erat nec fuit judex Comitis, Petri, et Gomecii predictorum, nec in ipsorum personas, temporibus processuum et sententiarum præfatorum, ullam penitus habebat superioritatem, cum Comes, Petrus et Gomecius supra dicti eo tunc forent et essent subditi homines et vassalli regi Aragonie, et intra limites dominacionis regis ipsius sua certa continua et notoria domicilia obtinentes; et si unusquisque, Comes, et alii, ratione originis et extractionis, à domino rege Castelle tenuisse dicatur ipsius fuerant subditi seu vassalli, nihilominus ipsi omnes, ante præfatos sententiam et processus, ad habundantiorem cautelam se expediverant et desnaturaverant ab eo cum publicis instrumentis,

et aliis servatis solemniis in talibus consuetis, et prout de more patrie et secundum leges Ispaniæ, ex causis legitimis ipsis licuit et ab ejus dominacione et superioritate qualibet discesserunt omnino; et ubi intra districtum dicti regis Castelle pretendantur criminalia aliqua commisisse, nihilominus tamen, evidenter apparebat nullitas sentenciarum prædictarum et injusticia eorumdem; cum dicti Comes, Petrus et Gomecius in districtu regis ejusdem inventi non fuerint, nec ad illum de more remissi. Insuper, licet rex Castelle in sentencia vel sentenciis de quâ vel quibus super fit mencio, illam suæ præfatæ declarationis causâ nitatur pretendere, quod saltem in villa Tauri, dicti Comes, Petrus et Gomecius contra eum cum aliquibus aliis conjuraverunt, et ipsum captivari fecerunt, et interficere voluerunt, et quædam alia commiserunt, de illis, tamen judicialiter contra eos informationem recipere, sibique aliter legitime constare non potuit, ipsis non auditis, et penitus indefensis, amota defensione, quæ eisdem de jure competit naturali; quæ et si vera fuissent, tamen illa omnia et singula et alia crimina et delicta, quæcumque per eos commissa fuerunt, eis remissa plenarie per dictum regem Castelle, qui super eis ipsis suas concessit cartas seu litteras, sua bulla plumbea et manus propriæ annotatione munitas. Præterea, sententia à dicto rege Castelle perlata non valere potuit, cum ipse rex excommunicationis sententia, in eum per dictum dñm cardinalem Guillelmum tunc in regno Castelle legatum apostolice sedis, ut premittitur, lata, et demun in locis pluribus solemniter publicata, et aliis excommunicationum sentenciis esset multipliciter irretitus; certum, Comes, Petrus et Gomecius predicti, nullo modo per regem Castelle fuerunt ad premissa citati, nec citatio, si quam forte rex ipse per edictum, vel aliter, intra dominii sui limites fecisse dicitur, artare potuit predictos, utpote longe ante ab ipso rege Castelle et regnis suis et dominio solemniter desnaturatos et expeditos, et dicti regis Aragonie et regnorum suorum subditos et vassallos efectos, et in ipsius regnis et terris continue et notorie commorantes et lares foventes, presertim, tempore dictorum processum, et ante et post, extra regis Castelle districtum et territorium constitutos dictoque rege Aragonie, ordinario judice Comitis et predictorum, per prefatum regem Castelle qui ipsos citaret, vel citari, aut remitti ad eum faceret, minime requisitos; et

ubi citati legitime extitissent coram rege Castelle ipsorum notorio inimico, et qui tunc de proximo, Comitis et Petri predictorum, germanos detestabiliter occidi fecerat, ipsumque Comitem et dictos Petrum et Gomecium persequebatur odio capitali, necnon et grandi et copioso exercitu, tempore processus et sententie prefatorum, notorie et consulto, et mortem ipsorum, ut verosimiliter presumebatur, summo desiderio sitienti, apud locum dominationis sue qui ipsis non poterat non suspectus comparere, minime debuerunt, nec tenebantur consistorii tale subire judicium, in suorumque hostium reponere manibus, at ad mortem per violentam injuriam, non per justiciam inferendam, ultroneos se offerre; sicque, sentencia dici non meruit quæ a prefato rege, qui per dictos Comitem, Petrum et Gomecium secure adiri non potuit, et in loco notorie non tuto, in ipsos absentes nec citatos legitime et inauditos, et per consequens, indefensos, de tantis presertim criminibus, extitit promulgata. Quodque premissa omnia contra treugam, tractatum et convenciones habitas et factas coram cardinali prefato, ipsiusque statutum et excommunicationes et sententias latas in ipsum regem Castelle, ut præmittitur, per ipsum attemptata, patrata extiterant et commissa, erantque et fuerant sentenciarum et processum regis Castelle prefatorum temporibus, et regnis et terris prefatis, et alibi sint manifesta, publica et notoria quod nulla poterant tergiversatione celari, prout hec et alia superius fuerunt proposita coram nobis; Nos, etc., sententiam et processus, etc., pronunciamus esse nullos, irritos et inanes, nullumque debere vel debuisse sortiri efectum, etc., ipsosque cassamus, revocamus et annullamus, etc.

Pampilonie, XV kal. sept., pontificatu serenissimi in Xo Patris et Dñi ñri dñi Innocentii div. provid. papa sexti anno nono.

The same sentence is pronounced in respect to the Infante of Aragon on similar grounds, and the rather since that Prince was notoriously an Aragonese subject. Same date.

(F). LAMENT OF QUEEN BLANCHE.

"En un escuro retrete."

O'er busy town, and laughing plain, the sun is shining bright,
But ne'er thro' yon dense prison-walls may pierce his joyous light;

It is a palace high and stern, and built of dark-hued stone,
Where dwells that spotless virgin-flower, the Ladye Blanche, alone;
And lofty iron gratings enhance her dungeon's gloom,
Fenced round the narrow windows of her blank and cheerless room.

Here dwells fair Blanche of Bourbon, whose sires from monarchs spring,
The guiltless and insulted bride of an inhuman King.
No gay and gilded balconies surround the young Queen's bower,
No voice of friendly cheer is heard from dreary hour to hour;
Within her cell the Captive sits, and mourns in trembling tone,
As tho' to wring compassion from those cruel walls of stone.

"How soon they fleet, those pleasures sweet, this fair, false world can offer—
How quickly cloys the cup of joys her treacherous hand would proffer!
She bids us rove thro' myrtle groves—expect a golden morrow,
Alas! that morrow's sun shall rise, and bring us—tears and sorrow.
Thorns lurk beneath her roseate wreath, and brows by care unclouded,
Crown'd by its baleful shade must fade, as tho' by cypress shrouded.

"Oh! measureless the wretchedness, and bitter is the pain,
That when the hour's delight is o'er, to mock our loss remain!
The misery of humbled pride—of love without return;
The oft deceiv'd, deceiving hope—the biting tongue of scorn;
The woe that yearns for utterance, that cannot brook restraint—
The tameless spirit whisp'ring still, "Endure!—but no complaint!"

"Yes, these are thine, deceitful world—oh! blest, thrice blest are they
Who will not list thy syren voice, who turn in time away,

Who give their hearts and vows to Heaven in freshness of their
youth,
Ere earthly thoughts and wishes rob their sacrifice of truth.
Such, angel-like, may live in prayer, and love to human kind,
While no vain lingering regrets weigh down the soaring mind—
Such well may ask, but to receive, and when they seek shall find!

"Their peace in vain I strive t'attain—alas! it may not be,
I cannot school my erring mind to meet my destiny.
Scarce yester e'en I was a queen, a gay one, and a proud.
And minstrels sang my youthful bloom in music sweet and loud.
Did regal state my soul elate? too madly swelled my heart?
How could I deem the flatt'ring dream would all so soon depart?

"Where are my vassals, once so glad to answer to my call?
A few stern guards surround me, King Pedro's liegemen all.
I may not speak, nor would I seek converse with such as they,
Who did their tyrant doom my death, would eagerly obey.
Where is the world that whilome shew'd so glorious and vast?
Within yon grated window the whole is spann'd at last.

"Behold the wondrous pageant!—yon streaks of deep blue sky
That thro' the iron trellis work may greet my longing eye.
And thro' long hours of darkness, I oft imagine Death
Stands by my couch, stares in my face, and counts each languid
breath.
Whene'er my final hour shall come, be gentle, Death, to me
Give kindly rest within the tomb, since life was misery.

"One morn I saw a lily in Bourbon's gardens bloom,
So virgin-like, so pure and white, so fragrant its perfume,
Its gentle beauty thrilled my soul with transport and delight—
But oh! how diff'rent shewed it when I sought its place at night!
The cruel sun his fiery darts had wrathfully cast down,
Its leaves so delicately white were shrunken, scorched and brown.

"Upon the stalk in wretchedness it drooped its graceful head,
Ah, woe for thee, fair lily! the queen of flowers is dead.

How griev'd I, simple maid, to see my fav'rite thus decline.—
Oh Pedro, tiger-hearted king, that lily's fate is mine!
My morn of life was likewise spent in Bourbon's proud domain—
In France—sweet France—beloved land I ne'er may see again,
Why did I leave my home to suffer mockery in Spain?

"The hot sun of Castile has bowed and scathed my head.
All hope, all power of life and bliss, for evermore is fled.
The lily lives a few short hours, then gradual wastes away
The flower once cherished, worn and perished, lies withered in the way.
My tragedy must be played out—perchance its end is nigh—
Oh God, vouchsafe me patience and peace before I die!"

THE DEATH OF LADYE BLANCHE.

"Doña Maria Padilla n'os mostreis tan triste vos."

"Maria de Padilla, be not thus of dismal mood,
For if I twice have wedded me, it all was for thy good;

But if upon Queen Blanche ye will that I some scorn should shew,
For a banner to Medina my messenger shall go;

The work shall be of Blanche's tears, of Blanche's blood the ground;
Such pennon shall they weave for thee, such sacrifice be found."

Then to the Lord of Ortis, that excellent baron,
He said, "Now hear me, Ynigo, forthwith for this begone."

Then answer made Don Ynigo, "Such gift I ne'er will bring,
For he that harmeth Lady Blanche doth harm my lord the king."

Then Pedro to his chamber went, his cheek was burning red,
And to a bowman of his guard the dark command he said.

The bowman to Medina passed; when the queen beheld him near,
"Alas!" she said, "my maidens, he brings my death, I fear."

Then said the archer, bending low, " The King's commandment take,
And see thy soul be ordered well with God that did it make,—

For lo! thine hour is come, therefrom no refuge may there be."
Then gently spake the Lady Blanche, " My friend, I pardon thee;

Do what thou wilt, so be the King hath his commandment given.
Deny me not confession—if so, forgive ye, Heaven!"

Much griev'd the howman for her tears, and for her beauty's sake,
While thus Queen Blanche of Bourbon her last complaint did make :—

" O France! my noble country—O blood of high Bourbon!
Not eighteen years have I seen out before my life is gone.

The king hath never known me. A virgin true I die.
Whate'er I've done, to proud Castile no treason e'er did I.

The crown they put upon my head, was a crown of blood and sighs,
God grant me soon another crown more precious in the skies!"

These words she spake, then down she knelt, and took the bowman's blow,
Her tender neck was cut in twain, and out her blood did flow.

J. G. Lockhart.

(G). Convention of Monzon.

El rey de Aragon.

Prometemos à vos don Anrich conte de Trastamerra queus ayudaremos a conquerir el regno de Castiella bien e verdaderament, con condicion que nos dedes e siades tenido de dar en franco e libero alou con regalias de rey la seysena part de todo lo que conquerredes en el regno de Castiella en aquella part ho partes que nos estiéremos personalment ho por otro. E assi como nos vos somos tenido dayudar a conquerir el dito regno, assi vos siades tenido à nos ayudar contra todo hombre, e encara con lo que avre-

des conquerido e seer amigo de nuestros amigos e enemigo de nuestros enemigos. Escripta de nuestra mano en Monçon, al zaguer dia de Março l'anyo 1363.—E yo el conde don Enrique promoto a vos, señor Rey, que compliré de bonamient todo lo que vos e de complir segunt dessuso y e por vos dito. Escripta de mi mano, el dia dessuso dito.

Rex Petrus—Yo el Conde.

(H). Treaty of Benifar.

In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, amen.—Dum grandia et innumerabilia dona mihi collata per vos, serenissimum principem et dominum nostrum, dominum Petrum Dei gratia regem Aragoniæ, Valentiæ, Majoricæ, Sardiniæ et Corsicæ, comitemque Barchinonis, Rossilionis et Ceritaniæ, considero ego humilis subditus et vassalus vester Henricus comes Trastamaræ; dum conspicio me per vos hereditatum in dominatione vestra sic notabiliter, villis et castris, quæ et quas mihi dedistis; dum attendo vos me non ut vassallum set (sic) ut servitorem et socium in omnibus portractare; nam vestri solita clementia pro MVCC equitibus et M peditibus de stipendio per vos dari solito, mihi mandastis continue respõnderi ultra plures gratias quas mihi facitis incessanter, tantum reputo me dominationi vestræ obligatum, quod nec video nec imaginare possum unde possim pro tantis beneficiis vestre Celsitudini vice consimili respondere Igitur, predictis prospectis, et prospecto, inter vos dominum regem et me fuisse tractatum ut, vos dominus rex, cum certis viris, equitibus et peditibus, et ego cum meis familiis, intremus regnum Castellæ pro invadendo, adquirendo et occupando regnum istum (sic), seu illam partem ejusdem quam poterimus, prout Dominus ministrabit; cujus prætextu intrare, vos dictum dominum regem infinitos sumptus facere oportebit; tenore presentis qui dignum existit et consonum racioni, ut ex quo in conquista hujusdem bona vestra innumerabilia et subditorem vestrorum expendendre habetis, commodum et profectum, dante Domino, possitis assequi et habere, dono donacione irrevocabili inter vivos, vobis dicto domino domino regi, ac vestris, perpetuo, totum regnum Murciæ eum civitatibus, villis, oppidis et castris in eodem regno existentibus, necnon

civitates ac villas subscriptas; Requenam, Otiell, Moya, Canyet, Concham, Molinam, Medinam Celim, Almazanum, Soriam, Agredam, cum universis et singulis aldeis dictarum civitatum et villarum et uniuscujusque earum, videlicet regnum predictum ac civitates et villas subscriptas cum comitatibus, vicecomitatibus, si qui sunt cum rochis, fortaliciis eorumdem, domibus, turribus et aliis quibusvis juribus, portubus maris, ripariciis, comitibus vicecomitibus, comitoribus, vervassoribus et baronibus seu richis hominibus, militibus, dominabus, civibus, burgensibus, hominibus et feminis cujuscumque status seu preheminenciæ sint, christianis, judæis et sarracenis, in predictis regno, civitatibus, villis, aldeis, oppidis, castris et locis predictis habitantibus et habitaturis, et cum omni cognitione pacis et treugæ, mero et mixto imperio, ac omni modo jurisdictione civili seu criminali, alta vel baxa, cum saliciis, piscationibus, venationibus, mineriis, trobis, fluminibus, vectigalibus et aliis exitibus et proventibus quibuscumque, molendiniis, furciis, questiis, subsidiis, adimprivis, serviciis realibus vel personalibus et eorum redemptione, monetatito, conis, albergis, feudis, feudatariis, potestatibus et emporiis, et cum omnibus aliis juribus in dictis regno, civitatibus, villis, castris, opidis et locis pertinentibus eidemque, qui fuit, est, vel erit rex Castellæ. Hujusmodi vero donacionem facio vobis dicto domino, domino regi et vestris perpetuo; si per me in regna Castellæ, vel major pars, eorumdem (nic) cum vestri adjutorio fuerint adquista; et quia ad presens ego non habeo nec possideo aliquid ex predictis, nec jus aliquid mihi competit in eisdem, et ob hoc posset dici quod hujusmodi donatio nullius existit efficaciæ seu valoris, quia tum cum vestri adjutorio quam cum serenissimo principi domino Karrulo regi Navarre et gentibus suis, quorum et meis familiis stipendium et, ultra stipendium, plures sumptus prosecutionis hujus tam arduissimi negotii ministratis, ego intendo regnum Castellæ adquirere supradictum vel majorem partem ipsius; nunc, prout quidquid juris rationis et actionis, tam ratione conquistæ vel alias, in regno Murciæ civitatibus, villis et aldeis superius specificatis mihi competere poterit quibuscumque titulis, causis, rationibus sive modis, dono donatione irrevocabili intervivos; et ex tunc promitto, vos dictum dominum, dominum regem in possessionem regni Murciæ, civitatum

et villarum superiùs specificatarum inducere vacuam et expeditam, vel si vos malueritis, possitis possessionem ipsam libere adipisci et adeptam licite retinere.

Quoniam ego nunc pro tunc in possessionem omnium premissorum vos induco, et super ipsius possessionis apprehensione et retentione plenam vobis dono et concedo potestatem, constituendo me nunc pro tunc possessionem prædictorum, cum per me adepta fuit vestro nomine precario possidere jura, actiones reales et personales, utiles, directas pariter atque mixtas, vobis concedendo, ac in vos transferendo irrevocabiliter pleno jure; mandans nihilominus tenore presentis, universis et singulis comitibus, vicecomitibus, comitoribus, baronibus, vervessoribus, militibus, civibus, burgensibus et aliis quibuscumque et cujuscumque status vel conditionis existant, quod vos ex tunc in dictis regno, civitatibus, villis, castris et locis predictis pro domino habeant, vobisque in omnibus et singulis intra regnum et terras ipsas existentibus pareant, respondeant et obediant et pro predictis omnibus homagium præstent ac etiam juramentum, ac vos pro rege et domino eorum naturali habeant et teneant. Ego enim nunc ut ex tunc absolvo et absolvere, si opus fuerit tunc temporis, promitto, omnes et singulos comites, vicomites, magnates et alios supradictos ab omni homagio, dominio et fidelitate quibus mihi tunc temporis adstricti fuerint pro predictis, absque aliqua retentione. Et ulterius promitto vobis dicto domino regi et vestris, quod si presens donacio defectum aliquem pateretur vel posset dici inefficax, quod ego ex tunc cum dicta regna Castellæ vel majorem partem ipsorum, ut est dictum, vestri adjutorio adquisivero, faciam vobis donacionem ut melius et utilius dictari possit ad vestrum commodum de eisdem regno Murciæ, civitatibus, villis, locis et aldeis superius specificatis et in eorumdem possessionem vos inducam libere et absque contradictione quacunque. Et si forte per aliquas personas, collegia seu universitates regni Castellæ sicut hiis (sic) fieret aliqua quæstio vel controversia, ex tunc promitto eandem repellere, ac regnum ipsum, civitates, villas et aldeas prædictas faciam per vos et vestro pacifice possideri. Et si forte per vos dictum dominum, dominum regem, vel gentes vestras regnum Murciæ, civitates, villæ, loca et castra prædicta quæ vobis dono, occupata fuerint seu conquista quomodocumque, promitto vobis

dicto domino, domino regi ac vestris, numquam per me seu meos fiet, intentabitur seu movebitur questio aliqua, petitio sive demanda; imo, si vobis fieret per aliquas personas, promitto vobis et vestris bona fide et sine dolo quod ego defendam ab inde vos et vestros totis meis viribus cum armis et aliter taliter, quam regnum ipsum, civitates, ville, loca et castra prædicta per vos et vestros possidebuntur pacifice et quiete, prout cetera regna vestra cum juris plenitudine possidetis. Casu vero quo ego dedero dicto domino, domino regi Navarre partem aliquam regni Castellæ, ex tunc promitto vobis dicto domino, domino regi et vestris quod ego dabo vobis, computatis et comprehensis prædictis quæ vobis dono in tenencia eorum quæ nunc vobis dono, de eo quod vos eligeritis tantum quod excedat in triplum seu in tres partes ultra quod valuerint ea quæ dabo dicto regi Navarre predicto. Volo tamen quod si aliquid dedero dicto regi Navarre, sive non, predicta omnia quæ vobis dono, in eorum permaneant robore et valore. Et ideo, promitto vobis dicto domino, domino regi et vestris perpetuo in manu et posse notarii infra scripti, tanquam publice persone a me nominate, omnium quorum interest vel intererit legitime stipulantis, pasciscentis et recipientis, prædictam donacionem et omnia alia et singula supra dicta, rata, grata, et firma perpetuo habere, tenere et observare et nunquam in aliquo contrafacere vel venire jure aliquo sive causa; renuncians super hiis legibus dicentibus donationes posse causa ingratitudinis revocari et quibuscunque legibus canonicis, civilibus, municipalibus seu aliis quibuscunque juribus quibus contra prædicta in aliquo contra ire. Et ad majorem corroborationem promissorum, juro per Deum et ejus sancta IIII evangelia corporaliter a me tacta ac facio homagium ore et manibus commendatum vobis dicto domino regi de tenendo et observando promissa omnia et singula et de non contrafaciendo aliquid in promissis jure aliquo sivè causâ. In quorum omnium testimonium facio vobis dicto domino regi fieri et sigillo meo impendenti communire presens publicum instrumentum. Quod est actum in loco de Benefar, decima die octobris anno a nativitate Dñi M.CCC.LX. tercio S. + Henrici comitis Trastamaræ prædicti, qui hic laudo, concedo, firmo et juro et præsto homagium ut est dictum. Yo el Conde.

Testes hujus rei sunt Guillermus de Uxio et Raymundus de

Perillionibus milites, armorum uxerii dicti domini regis. Sig + num mei Bernardi Michaelis auctoritate illustrissimi domini regis Aragonie notarii publici per totam terram et dominacionem suam, qui premissis una cum dictis duobus testibus interfui eaque scribi feci et clausi.

(I) Address of the Town Council of Avignon to the Chamberlain of Gregory XI.

Pater reverendissime, pro parte dilectorum subjectorum vestrorum, consilii et consiliariorum civitatis Avinionis, domini nostri pape, juxta ordinationem per venerabilem et benignum patrem illis traditam, super propositione et petitione domino nostro pape, pro illorum parte, die sabbati proxima preterita, vestra Reverentia presente, factis, super quinque membris propositis, ad effectum ut illorum supplicatio et petitio, super supplicatis et petitis, vestris bonis mediantibus, intercessione, labore et precibus, suum debitum consequantur effectum, de quo infallibiliter sperant, ad vestri memoriam proposita et supplicata inferius per ordinem describuntur et responsiones singulariter et singulis per dominum nostrum papam facte.

. . . . . .

Item, et quia, reverendissimus in Christo pater, dominus cardinalis Iherosolimitanus, tunc vicarius civitatis Avinionis et rector comitatus Venayssini, pro quibusdam conventionibus et pactis habitis et factis cum domino Bertrando de Clequino, dum castrum Tarasconis tenebat, ob sensum quinque millia florenorum auri, quos dicitur recepisse de thesauro Sedis Apostolice, et in suo recessu dicere debuit quod per cives debebant solvi, quamvis (cum debita reverentia loquendo) nunquam de consilio et scientia dicte civitatis predicti tractatus facti fuerant, aut dictorum florenorum quantitas fuerit soluta, sed dumtaxat quantitas quinque milia francorum fuerit promissa et soluta eidem domino Bertrando (dum super campis et territorio civitatis Avinionis existeret, ad effectum ut recederet de districtu et episcopatu Avinionis, et Comitatus Venayssini cum toto ejus exercitu) solvenda prorata inter dictos comitatum, civitatem et terras et personas ecclesiasticas et collegia, et in ipsa ultima promissione, prefati consilium et cives Avinionis

consenserunt, et pro solvendam portionem suam, de auctoritate curie taliam imposuerunt, et de pecunia dicte talie *de qua pecunia* 6* levanda solvere debebant creditoribus à quibus mille et quingentos florenos auri receperant a mutuo, pro solvendo dicto domino Bertrando, ipsam compositionem ultimam suam pro rata eorum ; Reverendissima tamen vestra Paternitas, domini camerarii, mandato, providus vir magister Johannes de Regio exigere nictitur et exigit tallias predictas. ad effectum ut illas tradat domino thesaurario domini nostri pape, pro satisfaciendo eidem de quantitate levata de thesauro, ut premittitur, et per hoc oporteret talliam novam imponere cum magna displicentia consilii et universatis hujus civitatis dominice vestre, propter quod supplicarunt eidem domino nostro pape, ut pecuniam de thesauro levatam solvi mandaret de pecunia gabellarum pro ratá tangente cives, sicut de premissa pecunia per ipsos, ut dictum est, factum fuit, et pecunias de talliis per cives jam dictos levandas, civibus relinquerent, pro satisfaciendo creditoribus à quibus mutuo pecunias receperunt quoad solverunt pro secunda compositione cum dicto domino Bertrando facta, et penes quos consilium et consiliarii se obligarunt, et sic tallia nova fieret ; quod esset dos gratum ac consilio, consiliariis ac universitati et magistris, pupillis, orphanis, viduis ac miserabilibus personis qui incessanter pro dominica vestra ad Deum supplicabunt, pro ejus statu prospero, vita longeva et salute anime, que ultra alia appetitur et desideratur.

Ad hoc respondit idem dominus noster papa pro ut precedens.

(Ad precedens capitulum respondit idem dominus noster papa decens fore et esse quod petebatur... quod traderemus reverentie vestre memoriale sibi faciendum ad affectum ut cum consilio aliquorum dominorum et vestro deliberare et ordinare super petitis et supplicatis in articulo contentis posset et valeret.)

(K) Don Pedro, etc., a los honrados nobles amados e fieles nostros todos e cadauno, perlados richos-hombres, cavallers e otros havientes lugares en nostro regno e aun a todos e singles officiales nuestros à los quales las presentes pervendran salutem et

* The three words "de qua pecunia," ought to be suppressed.

dilectionem. Porque el lugas de Pina el qual es seydo barreyado por estas companyas de Francia que son en nuestra tierra, se pueda reparar, queremos e vos rogamos afectuosament que enduistades todos e sengles hombres e mulleres que por medio de las ditas companyas son foydos entre los ditos vuestros lugares o nuestros, que luego que las ditas companyas se partan destas partidas, tornen al dito lugar de Pina con todos los bienes que han levados consi, catando vos que sobre esto non fagades algun embargo a los ditos hombres, ca si lo faziades nos hi puniriamos rigarosament segunt trobariamos de fuero e de razon. Dada en Çaragoza dins nuestro sello secreto a 24 dias de febrero M.CCC.LX.VI.

(L.) ROMANCE OF THE DEATH OF DON PEDRO.

"Los fieros cuerpos revueltos."

Henry and King Pedro clasping,
Hold in straining arms each other;
Tugging hard, and closely grasping,
Brother proves his strength with brother.

Harmless pastime, sport fraternal,
Blends not thus their limbs in strife;
Either aims, with rage infernal,
Naked dagger, sharpened knife.

Close Don Henry grapples Pedro,
Pedro holds Don Henry strait,
Breathing, this, triumphant fury;
That, despair and mortal hate.

Sole spectator of the struggle,
Stands Don Pedro's page afar,
In the chase who bore his bugle,
And who bore his sword in war.

Down they go in deadly wrestle,
Down upon the earth they go,
Fierce King Pedro has the vantage,
Stout Don Henry falls below.

Marking then the fatal crisis,
Up the page of Henry ran,
By the waist he caught Don Pedro,
Aiding thus the fallen man.

"King to place or to depose him,
Dwelleth not in my desire,
But the duty which he owes him,
To his master pays the squire."

Now Don Henry has the upmost,
Now King Pedro lies beneath,
In his heart his brother's poniard
Instant finds its bloody sheath.

Thus with mortal gasp and quiver,
While the blood in bubbles welled,
Fled the fiercest soul that ever
In a Christian bosom dwelled.

WALTER SCOTT.

For other ballads referring to the history of Don Pedro the reader may consult the "Romancero General," or the "Tesoro de los Romanceros," edited by Don Eugenio Ochoa.

THE END.

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